MAN AND LABOR.

CYRUS ELDER.

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"*The proper study of mankind is man.*"—POPE.

MAN AND LABOR:

A SERIES OF

SHORT AND SIMPLE STUDIES.

BY

CYRUS ELDER.

"*Hast any philosophy in thee, Shepherd?*"—TOUCHSTONE.

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PREFACE.

This book, contains the substance, much condensed and hastily edited, of informal talks to free classes in Political Economy in the Cambria Scientific Institute. The work was purely a labor of love; and it is possible that through it, one or two earnest youths have been inspired to a further study of the causes of national welfare. That the publication of these lessons may make some slight addition to their number, is its purpose, and the hope of

THE AUTHOR.

JOHNSTOWN, PA.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

PREFACE 3
PRINCIPLES OF HUMAN NATURE. 5
HISTORY OF LABOR 17
THE NATURE OF LABOR 25
THE FAMILY 34
THE COMMUNITY 43
RELIGION AS AN ECONOMIC FORCE 50
THE NATURAL REWARD OF LABOR 61
THE NATURAL REWARD OF LABOR—Continued .. 74
REWARD OF LABOR—WAGES 85
REAL WAGES 95
REAL WAGES—TRADE 105
REAL WAGES—SHARING TRADE PROFITS 115
REAL WAGES—INSTRUMENTS OF COMMERCE 128
COÖPERATION 141
FLUIDITY OF LABOR EXAMINED 150
PRIVATE PROPERTY IN CHATTELS 158
PROPERTY IN LAND 169
NATURAL LAW OF POPULATION 181
IMAGINARY WRONGS AND IMPOSSIBLE REMEDIES. 196
CONCLUSION 209

PRINCIPLES OF HUMAN NATURE.

Generally, the range of topics discussed under the head of Political Economy includes human motives to action and its material results. The teachers of the science are divided broadly into two schools, one of which assumes certain universal human motives, and from them predicts, or endeavors to predict, results. The other school studies results, digests and tables them, and endeavors to show from the study of them that a certain course of human action has had, and must continue to have, certain good or evil consequences. The one set of teachers professes to be engaged in the application of principles; the other does not often claim to do more than define a policy. There are no hard and fast lines of division; there is more or less intrusion of each school into the field of the other; and, while it is sometimes denied that Political Economy is a science, the writers of either school, who claim this much for it, agree in saying that it is not a science of matter, but a science of

mind; and they alike profess to give chief importance to the elementary principles of human nature entering into it, or constituting it. Such representative and antagonistic teachers as Henry C. Carey and John Stuart Mill agree in this. Mr. Mill limits the science of Political Economy to the investigation of the moral or psychological causes of the economic condition of nations, dependent upon institutions and social relations, and the principles of human nature. Mr. Carey prefers the title Social Science to that of Political Economy; and he defines it as the science of the laws which govern man in his efforts to secure for himself the highest individuality, and the greatest power of association with his fellow man. Mr. Carey's laws are not laws of matter, like attraction, gravitation, etc., but laws of mind; and they are, or should be, the equivalent of the principles of human nature spoken of by Mr. Mill.

Beginning our studies of Political Economy with these definitions of the science, we would expect to find some formal array and definition of the principles of human nature entering into it; yet in this we shall be disappointed, unless we are satisfied with a

few simple propositions, like the assumption of universal selfishness, which appear to be a sufficient foundation for one of the edifices we are invited to enter. Here and there we may pick up for ourselves something more, scattered by the way, and will find it to be of doubtful value; as, for instance, where Adam Smith derives the division of labor from "a certain propensity of human nature to truck, barter and exchange one thing for another." This, he says, "is common to all men and to be found in no other race of animals"—an exception the full force of which he did not appreciate. A more important statement made by Dr. Smith is this: "The effort of every man to better his condition is so powerful a principle that it alone, and without any assistance, is capable of carrying society to wealth and prosperity." This proposition when analyzed, may be said to include the essential matters of principle and policy belonging to the Free Trade school of political Economy.

First: Each man desires to better his own condition, and makes constant efforts to do so—universal selfishness.

Secondly: Each man is necessarily engaged in a struggle with every other man,

all having the same selfish object—universal competition.

Thirdly: This contest is so conducted by each man, by the wise adaptation of appropriate means to beneficent though selfish ends, that it more certainly results in the progress of society than if the human forces had been animated by public spirit or directed for the public good—freedom of trade.

Adding to these the proposition that man has a natural aversion to labor, and, therefore, gives the least possible services for the largest possible reward, we will have defined the principles of human nature which are of essential importance to the science of Political Economy as set forth by the teachers who claim to follow in the footsteps of Adam Smith.

If Political Economy is a science in the sense in which its teachers would have it accepted, these propositions must be of the nature of general truths. Human nature has been at all times, and is everywhere, the same. It may be questioned whether men everywhere have the desire to better their condition: communities and countries may be found in which this desire is feeble or inappreciable—or the desire, if it exists, in-

spires little corresponding effort, and such efforts cannot be said to be anywhere intelligently directed, even to selfish ends. But if this were otherwise, something more is needed to secure social progress, or it would have been universal instead of local. There must be a desire to improve the condition of others, which has its roots in human nature as well; and which gives form and sanction to the public virtues and institutions of civilization, which distinguish a progressive society from a society that is barbarous or lapsing into barbarism. Adam Smith did not understand benevolence and selfishness, egoism and altruism to be convertible terms. The motive he commends is the robust selfishness of shop-keepers and traders, with respect to which he distinctly repudiates any regard for the public good, yet he esteems it as all-wise and all-sufficient, if government will not interfere with it, to secure the wealth and prosperity of society.

We must make further inquiry for the principles of human nature constituting motives to human action within the sphere of the industries which effect the production, consumption, and distribution of wealth. In pursuing this investigation we are obliged

to essay definition of the principles of human nature, and some sufficient reason must be given for making the selected elements a part of the science of Political Economy. The latter point should probably be considered first, to the extent at least of determining what shall be included and what shall not, so that the field of investigation may be narrowed to its proper limits.

The science of Political Economy has no well defined boundaries, and we are chartered to enlarge or diminish them at will. Its various names are in need of definition. To call it the Science of Wealth, or the Science of Value, will not help us, for there is no agreement as to the meaning of wealth or value. Mr. Carey defines wealth as power over nature; other authors make it consist entirely in materal things having exchangeable value. Value, again, is said to consist solely of value in exchange—what a thing will swap for—while Mr. Carey defines it as the resistance which nature offers to man's efforts to accomplish his desires.

Perhaps we shall avoid alien matters, and save ourselves from trespass upon the domain of other sciences and the arts, if we will

limit ourselves to the natural motives and natural methods of economic action, excluding the material instruments by which they are performed. Any persistent human quality, or human conduct, which determines labor and its rewards must be given a place, avoiding debatable ground, and the social rights and institutions having a foundation in nature, may be treated as principles of human nature in the concrete, without carefully defining their elements.

In the other branch of our inquiry we shall be sufficiently rewarded by a partial success. At this time, when it is proposed to reform everything, or to destroy everything, it will be worth while to show that there are some things that do so inhere in man that their foundations cannot be removed without effecting the destruction of the race. The necessity for the simplest elementary teaching is great; for everywhere there is popular ferment and discontent, and a hopefulness for some material salvation, giving opportunity to false guides who, like Theudas and Judas of Galilee, may draw many people after them.

Let us recapitulate the more important principles of human nature which the ac-

cepted authorities in the science of English Political Economy have furnished us.

Man has a natural aversion to labor.

In so far as his toil is not compelled by animal necessities, the desire to improve his condition is its incentive.

Each man is naturally in an attitude of hostility to every other man.

Human competitive action is, in a state of perfect freedom, intelligently directed to the most profitable ends.

Much more than this summons and summary is required to bring man himself into the field of his labors. Man has not a natural aversion to labor; his activities are instinctive and naturally pleasurable. If "toil is irksome," idleness is much more irksome.

Pleasure in serving others is a motive in the worker often as powerful as the desire to better his own condition, and often consistent with it; and when inconsistent with, or directly antagonistic to the selfish desire, it nevertheless prevails. If this unselfish motive were taken away, progress would be impossible, and the most indispensable services would cease to be performed.

Religion has played a large part in inspir-

ing, organizing, and directing the labors of mankind, and it must continue to be a potent economic force. Who shall say what would be the fate of the race if it were possible to extinguish the love of labor, love to the neighbor, and love to God?

Somewhere, perhaps midway between the service of self and the service of others, stands the family, more directly influencing human exertion in every field of action than all other motives combined; and over all is the community, governing the laborer by its unwritten rules, paying him his real wages, and fixing the order of his life.

There are natural gradations of labor, and a natural rate of wages. Labor increases in estimation and rewards in the proportion that it performs a social use; and as to the labor which produces only material results, the natural law is, that the laborer is entitled to the entire fruits of his toil.

The right of private property is necessarily implied in every proposition relating to work and wages.

Some of these propositions are clearly within the purview of economic science, as to others, reasons may be fairly demanded and will be given for their admission. They

are principles of human nature or have their origin in principles of human nature; and by this we mean that they are an innate and ineradicable part of man—the animal, genus homo; and if this is true, then it follows that they must be taken into account by any one, philosopher, legislator, trade-unionist, or nihilist, who professes to understand, or proposes to reform, the ways of the world. They are of

> "——the common, the quite common,
> The thing of an eternal yesterday;
> Which ever was and evermore returns;
> Sterling tomorrow, for today 'twas sterling."*

This array of principles, my own or belonging to others, may not be rigidly exact or complete. In the course of our studies we will encounter further propositions of the Free Trade school requiring examination, as, for instance, the Malthusian law of population, which includes something more than principles of human nature; and the law of the relation of numbers of workers to their reward, which appears, as to its human elements, to relate, not to men in general, but only to working men.

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*Schiller.

It would be a very large matter to attempt the plenary proof of the propositions I have laid down. It is too large, and I shall be able only to present enough of argument to excite the interest of the student caring to follow it. There is plenty of room for original investigation, for the principles of human nature are almost unknown. An inquiry which I lately addressed to eminent scientists in regard to the natural history of the family relation brought the acknowledgment that the facts, in so far as they had been observed, were scattered through the literature of science, by way of incidental mention, that either the comparative psychology of this subject has not been explored, or the learning is not accessible.

There is further difficulty as to the meaning of terms which I must necessarily use, as, for instance, there is no agreement among political economists in a definition of labor. One may make it large enough to include every form of service that benefits mankind, while another restricts it to the work that is paid for in wages. Popularly, as well as technically, when workingmen are spoken of, there is meant only those who are working for wages; which leads sometimes to the mis-

taken idea that such laborers necessarily constitute a distinct class, having exceptional rights or exceptional disabilities; and that while they are the sole producers of wealth, their place has been, and is somewhere, beside and not within the current of human history.

HISTORY OF LABOR.

How much do we really know of the history of Labor? It is a fact, agreed to on all hands, that the condition of the workers in England, France, and Germany, has been greatly improved during the present century; but if closely examined it will be found that the amelioration has been greatest among peasant populations, employed in the lowest forms of agricultural industry. The peasant was excluded for centuries from the rights of citizenship, and the consequent larger rewards of labor which the manufacturing guilds long enjoyed. Everywhere the skilled artisan was first to be enfranchised; and at this day the position of the agricultural laborer in England is far below that attained by workers in the organized trades in Europe, centuries ago.

In considering the condition of labor many things must be taken into account, and it cannot be ascertained by a comparison of wages, past and present, the method mainly used by Thorold Rogers.

The wages test is crude and insufficient, as it does not include the social relations of employer and employed and their manner of living, respectively, as will clearly appear when the contrast is made between more remote and modern times. What, for instance, was the difference in the food, drink, and general physical comforts of Cedric the Saxon and his born thrall Gurth, the son of Beowulf, who wore a collar upon his neck? Comparison of the wages received by a London apprentice in the time of James I. and the wages of a London shop-keeper's clerk at the present time would tell us nothing, or next to nothing, of value.

We may find in history with much painstaking the legal status of the laborer, which will be misleading; for there is not, even at this day, an execution of the laws, much less was there in earlier and ruder ages. We know that for centuries English statutes for the regulation of wages had as little force as the Pennsylvania statute against gambling, or its eight-hour law. The Moors and Gypsies lived, and after a manner, flourished, for centuries in countries in which edicts and laws have made their presence punishable with death. The life of a people may be much

better or worse than its laws; and we shall read history in the light of our conception of human nature, as being always and everywhere the same. This obliges us to remember that the lord and vassal, the earl and thrall, the master and servant, employer and employed, were always men. The sense of justice, the sentiments of benevolence and duty, and feelings of personal attachment would always have some influence, and often be a controlling force, adequate to establish wholesome customs and usages constituting a body of unwritten laws generally observed. Here and there, and from time to time, there have been periods of madness and misery, and wherever the institution of slavery prevailed, the worst oppression might be possible; but the instances of outrage which the historian presents as a picture of the times may never have occurred, or they may have been altogether exceptional, and no nearer the truth than the possible historical romance of the twenty-first century based upon the so-called labor riots in Pittsburgh, a few years ago. A brief period of storm and stress will report itself, while long eras of peacefulness leave no trace or sign.

We know that among civilized nations,

during the Middle Ages and in more modern times, organizations of labor succeeded in maintaining a fair degree of prosperity and contentment in the walks of industry, in the presence of the most unequal and oppressive laws. It is possible that the wholesome ideas and customs of the ancient order have not everywhere yielded to the exactions of the modern factory system and the commercial spirit of the present time; and to a comparatively recent period the family or patriarchal organization of labor, of which apprenticeship was a part, still survived. This in the old-fashioned world maintained the arts by insuring the thorough training of those who practiced them, and this told strongly upon character, as honest workmanship is a large part of good morals. The apprentice was governed as well as instructed; the master was responsible for his good conduct, and had regard for him as a man as well as a workman. The relation was formed and permeated by ideas of duty, subordination, and religion, unfortunately discarded from the creed of modern labor reformers, who would deprive Mr. Mill's laborer, who has lost all hope in life, of the consolation of a hope in the hereafter.

We have instanced apprenticeship as illustrating the social and conventional relations which once generally extended throughout the industries. We know something of them from our knowledge of the guilds of labor, but their history has largely perished. There were in this country usages in the trades and in agriculture, in the early part of this century, controlling the rewards of labor and the relations of employer and employed of which few traces can now be found. The historian has neglected them; they have no place in the columns of figures of the statistician, and oral tradition is becoming vague and uncertain or is altogether lost.

The condition of labor in the past could not have been regulated by the simple laws laid down by Dr. Wayland, "that every man may gain all that he can, and that every man may use his own as he will," nor could the condition of the laborer in the past have been as wretched, depraved, and hopeless as it is now, according to Mr. Mill.

It is not our purpose to belittle the struggle of humanity through the ages to escape from the dominion of superstition and force, or to under-value the liberties which have been purchased with tears and blood. We

are simply insisting that Mill's declaration that the "bulk of the human race" lead a life of hopeless misery is not true, nor was it true in the past; and we deny that there are natural laws which make such a condition inevitable, and, according to some political economists, remediless.

The progress of civilization has been real. It consists almost wholly of things which cannot be defined or divided, as rents, interest, profits, or wages, but they can be divided equitably; and if the laborer does not get his fair share, the fault is not in the principles of human nature, it is in himself, or in bad social theories and bad customs, which may be so powerful as to make good laws inoperative, and to produce plague spots in the midst of civilization. All real progress consists in increase in the value of men. There has been such progress, and any country or community in which it is not found is in its decadence, whatever may appear to be its material wealth or prosperity.

We might maintain without extravagance that it is a mistake to reason backward from material conditions to social, as it is a mistake to argue backwards from rates of wages

to the character of the laborer; that material environment is not omnipotent, nor stronger than ideas. The shell is made by the oyster, not the oyster by the shell.

Nothing would be of more interest to-day than a complete history of the good customs once prevailing in the industries, regulating the relations of the workers and those who directed them, and having their origin in ideas of authority and duty, appreciation of manhood and a customary rather than commercial valuation of mutual services. They were not laws of matter but of mind, which have necessarily lost their force through the continued growth and influence of competition, which we are asked to accept as a perfect substitute for mistaken human benevolence and an obsolete Divine Providence. The altar erected to the worship of this new deity by Adam Smith is never without sacrifices; its priests are accepted teachers of sacred truth, and its missionaries go forth to instruct the ignorant in the dark places of the earth. The gospel is simple and easy; such texts as "buy where you can buy cheapest," "a man may get all he can,"—even a fool can understand them, and can understand why the human elements in in-

dustry should be disregarded, and how stupid it is to allow any consideration of morals within the domain of Political Economy.

THE NATURE OF LABOR.

The desire imputed to every man to better his condition should naturally add pleasure to his toil, and there is an apparent contradiction in the proposition that man has a natural aversion to labor. If this be true then man is in this respect unlike the other animals. Their instinctive activities nearly cover the whole field of man's alleged compulsory labors, and we cannot conceive of their existence in idleness. We refer to the wonderful story of their achievements, as described by the naturalists, for many instances in which their works cannot be surpassed by man, and it cannot be truthfully said that the necessity of obtaining food and shelter is the cause of their labors. They are not inspired by that form of selfishness, which is regarded as the universal motive to human action.

All animals have the instinct to take food, and are obliged to get it. Many of them build, excavate, spin, weave and construct, while others do not exhibit this instinct or propensity of

constructiveness. The cuckoo has as much need of a nest as a robin, yet it builds none; the hare makes a burrow, the rabbit does not, yet they alike need shelter and refuge; and there are other animals that are mechanics and architects, which in form and members, the implements with which they work, differ in no respect from the other animals which have no such activities. The difference is one of mental constitution, and we thus obtain one of the principles of animal nature, which is also a principle of human nature. The impulse is alike innate in man and in the animal, the only difference being that in the animal it is controlled by an innate plan which man has not, and therefore man has freedom of invention and action.

The effort to derive the arts from the animal necessities of man must be a failure. Man, like other animals, and in a higher degree than the other animals, because more richly endowed with innate impulses to various labors than all of them, is naturally a worker; he is not naturally a tramp or a loafer.

Is not the impulse to make, fashion, build, innate in man? We do not find it to be de-

pendent upon education or environment; it is not proportioned to the animal necessities; it differs in degree in men of the same family, of the same nation, and of different nations; it has geniuses who require to be taught nothing—who instinctively know its methods, laws, and possibilities of improvement. It manifests itself largely without purpose or use. Its greatest works have been a sentiment and not a service. The savage of the stone age gave endless toil to the decoration of a pipe, and rulers have abdicated empire to enjoy work at a turning lathe.

It is a general law that the indulgence of innate propensities to action is attended with pleasure, irrespective of purpose or end. This is true in an eminent degree, of the propensities having for their purpose the perpetuation and preservation of the race. The end or final cause of the instinct to take food is the nutrition of the body; yet it is seldom thought of, and is secured because eating is pleasurable, and a more forcible illustration will readily suggest itself.

We cannot conceive of the labors of the animals as being painful, or as being reluctantly performed. Their toil must be pleasurable, for, not having invented its plan, they can

have no knowledge of its purpose—they are not inspired by wants nor working for wages.

It cannot be that man has a natural aversion to labor, nor can it be true of that peculiar kind of man, called by the political economists a working man. Somebody or something is to blame if labor has lost its natural delight. If this be true we may ask in the language of the great mother,

> "Who has drugged my boy's cup?
> Who has mixed my boy's bread?
> Who with sadness and madness
> Has turned the man-child's head."*

If it be true, but is it true?—The experiment of universal idleness is impossible. Taking what we know of the history of labor, and observing what is passing around us, we think that the weight of the evidence is the other way, and that there is a natural habit of industry, and also a general pleasure in labor. Where this is not found its absence is owing to the hard conditions imposed upon the laborer. He has been a slave and a serf, unable to exercise voluntary activities or choose congenial employment, yet his case

*Emerson.

has not always been so hard as that of the "bulk of mankind," who, according to John Stuart Mill, are "slaves to toil in which they have no interest and therefore feel no interest, drudging from morning till late at night for bare necessaries, and with all the intellectual and moral deficiencies which that implies, without resources in mind or feelings, untaught, for they cannot be better taught than fed; selfish, for all their thoughts are required for themselves, without interests or sentiments as citizens or members of society, and with a sense of injustice working in their minds, equally for what they have not and what others have."

This account of the condition of the working classes is found in the chapter of Mr. Mill's political economy, in which he treats of remedies for low wages. It is not true, it does not approximate the truth, it has not even the quality of "truth in the rough," which satisfied the requirements of his principles of political economy. Judgments pronounced upon the feelings and character of masses of men are generally incorrect. Every condition in life has its trials and compensations. Muscular toil is not more wearying than mental; the enjoyments of the laboring

poor are as large as those of the idle rich, and we can conceive of a worker for wages —not one, but many—honestly pitying Mr. Mill, just as the sailor in the tempest at sea is reported as pitying the unfortunate people exposed to its perils on the land. It may be true that in England there are workingmen who go like galley slaves scourged to their toil, but this does not prove that man has a natural aversion to labor. It proves on the contrary that England has achieved a monstrous perversion of the order of nature.

The readers of "Walden" will remember a wood chopper and post maker who was the occasional companion of the author; and we may be lifted out of the gloom of Mr. Mill's abstractions, by the introduction of a charming personality thus happily described by Thoreau.

"He was a skilful chopper and indulged in some flourishes and ornaments of his art. He cut his trees level with the ground that the sprouts which might come up afterwards might be more vigorous, and a sled would slide over the stumps; and instead of leaving a whole tree to support his corded wood, he would peel it away to a slender stake or splinter, which you could break off with your

hand at last. His mirth was without alloy. Sometimes I saw him in the woods felling trees, and he would greet me with a laugh of inexpressible satisfaction, and a salutation in Canadian French, though he spoke English as well. Looking around upon the trees he would exclaim, 'By George! I can enjoy myself well enough here chopping, I want no better sport.'"

Thoreau thought this cheerful laborer, who took a pride in his work and gave to it many strokes not in the contract, was entirely sane, and an altogether natural man, and we are pleased to think so too.

Each successive age refers to the past, that golden day of labor, in which all men had sense of its delight,

> "When service sweat for duty, not for meed,
> The constant service of the antique world."*

The poet laments a change in the principles of human nature, tersely stated as a principle of political economy by Professor Perry, who says, "no one will work for you for nothing." There is common tradition of a labor paradise lost, which is incomplete unless it is coupled with prophecy of a paradise regained.

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*As You Like It.—*Shakespeare.*

It is well to distingush between aversion to labor and dissatisfaction with its rewards. The constant improvement in the material and social belongings of workingmen is quite consistent with constant growth of discontent. This is most marked where the improvement is greatest. It is the best paid labor that is most restless and most addicted to strikes; and the demand is never seriously made for less work, but is imperative for more wages. The miner, the mill-hand, and the mechanic are as little disposed to quit work when they have acquired a competence, as the merchant, speculator, lawyer, and banker. Acquisitiveness has much to do with this, but there goes along with it the habit and pleasure of industry.

There are occupations that are unhealthy and repulsive. No one can take natural pleasure in them. Men do not always, or often, find the work for which they are best fitted; many of them are doomed by the organization of society to uncongenial toils. Many employments are pervaded by the suffering or the suspicion of injustice. Competition—the struggle of every man against every other man, which, we are told, is the most perfect condition of a progressive soci-

ety, as it becomes general, has perils for the feeble, and is fruitful of ugliness and injuries.

Reasons enough may be given why the laborer often does not joy in putting forth his strength, but we assert that he should and may do so; and that the conditions under which labor would be pleasurable, would also make it more profitable.

THE FAMILY.

Political economists in their discussion of the motives which impel men to labor have neglected the strongest. The work which is done under the spur of personal necessity is trifling compared with that which is voluntarily put forth for the welfare of others —for the welfare of the family. Whether the instincts in which the family originates are to be classed as selfish or social, there can be no doubt that they are the final cause of almost all the labors of the lower animals, and inspire a very large part of the works of man. The theories which make the family the unit of human society and historically its germ may be disputed. They are not entirely in accord with what is somewhat obscurely known of the life of the lower animals, in which it appears that the family does not precede or follow society in any recognizable order of development. Generally the solitary animals, great and small, are married and maintain family relations, while the animals that live in com-

munities do not. The animals have either family life or social life, as illustrated by the fox and the dog; man has the instincts which give him both; they are not derived one from the other, they simply co-exist in the genus homo. With man heterogamy is virtually unrecognized and unknown, polygamy prevails to a great, but not preponderating extent, and monogamy consists with the most perfect social life. There are vagaries, like the practice of polyandria, which stand to the mass of facts as mere freaks of nature. We find monogamy and the family institution in the animals; and they always imply a more complex and higher mental organization, especially in the male, who has added to the amative propensity the instinct of personal attachment, and the instinctive love of progeny. In the human race these instincts vary; the proportions differ in different races and individuals of the same race; but under all weaknesses, errors, allowed and unlawful evasions, the law of oneness in pairs, as it has been called, is everywhere the tendency where it does not absolutely prevail. If man has descended from the other animals as is now taught, he comes of a particular stock which is mated

not casually but for life, and cares for its offspring, and he has inherited and improved the instincts which constitute and preserve the family. However they were derived, the instincts of connubial love and of love of offspring belong to man as an animal; and they have greater force in man because the period of nurture of the human race is enormously greater, and its demands infinitely more exacting than in the case of the other animals. This in man allies the family with society. The family is a school in which the natural self-regarding instincts are combated; a habit of sacrifice of self is engendered, and love of offspring is easily transformed into regard for the welfare of children. The most valued fruits we possess are the results of nature's care for the preservation of a seed; and the largest social results flow from human nature's instinctive care for a child, which has its perpetual source in the family.

The programme of destruction mapped out by labor reformers abroad and their affiliated revolutionary and nihilistic societies propose to abolish the family. Communal organizations of labor, from the times of the early Christian sects of Essenes and Carpo-

cratians to our modern Perfectionists, Economites and Shakers, have eliminated the family.* Reforms which aim to establish uniformity of employments and equality of rewards—conditions which prevail only among savages, find an insuperable barrier in the relations of husband and wife and parent and child, and less revolutionary systems have great difficulty in dealing with them. Men refuse, and will continue to refuse, the ideal society in which the state shall be the only father and the creche or asylum the common mother. Founded in nature the family will endure; no organization of society can abolish it; men will lose their strongest incentives to labor where its sanctities are impaired; and any country in which the industrial policy tends to disorgaize the family is descending to poverty, whatever may be its display of material wealth.

Like other orgainizations the family is improved by specialization of the functions of its members, and these functions are generally and broadly determined by natural laws. Generally and broadly it is the function of the man to provide for the family by his

*The Zoarites are an exception—they have restored family life in their community.

labor, and he goes out from and returns to the home; it is the function of the wife to perform the duties of maternity, involving care of the children and home; it is the function of the child to receive nurture and education and to render obedience as an inmate of the home. This family of human civilization has such analogies in animal life as show it not to be merely conventional; and while this is not the place to show more fully how we got it, we know that we have it; and if derived from a different savage state, its evolution has been along the lines that nature has laid down.

When one comes to us proposing a policy in regard to man and labor, the first question we have to ask is, What is its influence upon the family? Does it tend to protect and improve it, or otherwise? English writers on political economy hold, that the rewards of labor, expressed in wages, are governed by a natural law which gives the workingman so much of the fruits of his toil as will enable him to live and to propagate his kind; that more than this he cannot in the nature of things long continue to receive. If high wages brings temporary plenty, propagation of laborers makes them too plentiful, and

the worker must sink again to the point from which he rose—the zero, or natural point of equilibrium between workingmen and wages. This unfortunate propensity of laborers to have families is lamented by Mr. Mill. It appears to him as a sufficient reason why their condition can never be permanently improved, and he has no hope that they will resort to the voluntary abstentation to which he advises them. They prefer the pains and pleasures of paternity to the plenty promised by Mr. Mill; and they persist in producing English peasants who despoil their parents, but would be quite irreproachable as the progeny of peers.

The industrial policy of England has not extended and strengthened the family of civilization among her workingmen. In the competition of England against the world, for the production of cheap commodities by the cheapening of labor, the conditions under which her agricultural laborers existed for centuries have been perpetuated or renewed. The labor of the man is not sufficient for the support of the family, and it is necessary to draw away to the mine and mill and factory the wife and the child, and this has tended to the degradation of the family.

Wealth, according to Mr. Carey, consists in power over nature; progress in wealth consists in the substitution of richer soils for the poorer ones, and better tools for the poorer ones. The country which is under the constantly growing necessity of obtaining its merely muscular labor, by substituting for the muscles of men the feebler and less efficient forces of women and children, is not gaining power but losing it; is not gaining wealth but losing it, and has begun its descent to barbarism. It is not acting in accordance with the laws of nature, but is violating them.

We have no quarrel with the philanthropists who wish to obtain a wider sphere for woman's work. What they wish is entirely different from that which we denounce. The hunger of competition for cheap labor grows by what it feeds upon: and just in so far as woman's work reduces wages it is a common detriment to the community. This will, perhaps, be seen more clearly if the solitary instance of the employment of women in an iron mill in Pennsylvania, should be imitated and extensively practiced.

It may be doubted if the protective system,

which has given us an American organization of labor and an American workingman's home, can be maintained against the assaults which England constantly makes upon it in our schools and colleges, in our popular elections, in our newspapers and in our national congress; but if it is maintained, it concerns us to know whether it merely retards the operation of tendencies which may bring about the same results here that are seen abroad.

The advance from hand labor to machine labor, from muscular and water power to steam power, was a real progress, which has been attended with immense benefits to the human race; but we rarely get any good thing in this world without an admixture of evil, and we are just beginning to see the social effects of the great development of our manufacturing industry within the last thirty years. There are bad effects quite noticeable in the abolition of apprenticeships, the employment of young children in factories and mines, and the early emancipation of youths from parental control. The mischief is unmistakable, though as yet not extensive, like the employment of women in iron works; it is a small but threatening

cloud on the horizon, which should serve at least as a warning. The world is likely to endure for some time yet, and when we note the changes that have occurred in the last fifty years we must have some concern for what the future may bring forth. It is not a question for poor men only, it concerns the rich as well; no man has secured the future in merely accumulating an estate for his children.

THE COMMUNITY.

The great need of man in his struggle with nature is association with his fellows. The solitary man is the slave of nature; through association he gains mastery; and he gains more than this, for he is so constituted that he can have no enjoyment except in society.

Society is not the outcome of man's material needs, nor is it the result of any expressed or implied agreements. The pretended social compact, under which it is alleged men surrender certain of their natural rights upon becoming members of society, was predicated of a mythical natural man who was under no obligation to respect the opinions of others. Like everything upon which the welfare of the race depends, society originates in and is secured by the force of natural instincts, the chief of which is the innate desire of man for the approbation of his fellows, traces of which may be found in the lower animals. This is the natural bond of society; and it endows the unwritten

usages of the community, with more than the force of positive laws, of which it is the ultimate sanction.

The community of the neighborhood, large or small, is a state within the state. It has its own intelligence, character and conscience, and it regulates manners, fashions in apparel, and modes of living. Its decrees are economic forces forming a large factor in the production, distribution and consumption of wealth. The philosopher might safely have said, "Let me set the fashions of a country, and I care not who makes its laws." That "they do not do it in that way," begins to be a deterring force in the nursery; it follows the child to school, and thence to the workshop, profession, and business, gaining strength continually.

The condition of labor is a question of social environment. The community touches labor everywhere, prescribing how the worker and his family should live, what it is reputable for them to do, how their substance shall be expended or used; and the purely social services it performs for him may be the most important part of his income. Comparison of wages does not touch these matters at all, and, having respect to them,

a laborer in a New England village and another in the Black Country in England, though they receive an equal amount of pay, may differ as widely in real wealth or welfare as if they were separated by centuries of time. Such a difference neither increase nor diminution of wages can equalize. If the social code be low or brutal, increase of wages will be of no benefit whatever to the laborer: if it be high, decrease of wages will not prevent conformity to it.

The destinction between nominal and real wages should always be borne in mind. The real wages is not the money earned, but what that money will bring; it is not money but a share of the product of the laborer's industry; and in the last analysis it is not this, but it is a proportional share of the products of all other industries. In addition to this, and as a part of his real wages, is the laborer's share of the social services rendered by the community, the bad or good, the help or hindrance, he gets from customs, taste, fashion and public opinion, directly influencing his labor and its rewards.

In the community of which the workingman is a member, is public order, with all that it implies, a matter of police or is it

sustained by public opinion and by unofficial agencies and aids, such as associations for the prevention and prosecution of crimes? Is industry honorable and is the workingman respected, or does the ruling opinion place labor under social or other ban? What provision is made for education—voluntary or through intelligent administration of the laws, is it esteemed, and is there a spur to the development of special talents in the arts, science, and literature? What are the amusements of the community, and what does it do to promote such social intercourse as cheers, enlivens and strengthens men for their toil? What is its knowledge and practice of sanitary science, and is there a cheerful concurrence in observing wise regulations for preserving the public health? Do men treat each other courteously, is there self-respect and respect for the rights of others? Is there a general regard for the public good, and are the members of the community willing to make sacrifices of personal wishes and personal interests for the general welfare? Are fashions in deportment, dress, and mode of living such as conduce to thrift and comfort?

These and like matters constitute the social

environment, which may have its origin in part in material conditions; but which acquires an impersonal or collective character that may be modified by associated effort or the lack of it, and its improvement is of the utmost consequence. The community may be a force tending to a better or worse order of life as it may happen; or it may become a power purposely wielded for evil or for good through the more perfect association of its members. It is quite possible that American laborers feel this if they do not see it; and there is a good reason for their protest against the assisted immigration or the importation of semi-barbarous laborers from foreign countries, which has brought little profit and large loss, and which has in some cases made the hard problem of the improvement of the community much harder.

The community is a sick man suffering from the anti-social disorders of ignorance, selfishness and unlimited competition. The cosmopolitan philanthropist thinks it good practice to give the patient fresh doses of barbarism. He is entirely in accord with the stupid selfishness which sees the near dollar to be made out of barbarous labor, and does not see the inevitable degradation of the

community, and its peril to the estate of the employer and to the future of his children.

The tendency of reform movements at the present time indicates a growing dependence upon the effectiveness of legislation, as shown by projects of laws defining new crimes and imposing extreme penalties. The jealousy of the powers of government which existed in this country when the original state constitutions were formed has been replaced by a different spirit. It is not now deemed enough to secure freedom, impartial justice, and equality before the law; but it is proposed to extend the sphere of legislation to include a great number of matters which have been left to individual or social determination.

This dependence upon the state is an idea borrowed from revolutionary societies abroad, which aim at establishing social despotism. A despotic government may, and indeed must, do everything; but a free government can do little in its domestic affairs beyond securing general conditions of justice and equality. Economic principles are stronger than acts of the legislature; the pint measure will continue to hold but a pint, though a statute should punish with fine and im-

prisonment any one who does not call it a quart. Things naturally unequal cannot be made equal by law.

Dependence upon the state is not a condition under which there will be progress in American society. With respect to the state, we started at a point which the wiser part of European communities are still struggling to reach. Progress with us must be upon different lines—not in expanding the power of the state, but in improving the community. The methods must be more largely voluntary than compulsory. That is a real progress which leaves to the laws, civil and criminal, a constantly narrowing field of action, and it is a step forward when voluntary associations are recognized as useful adjuncts to the governing power. Voluntary associations have a wide field of action outside of the sphere of government which they are just beginning to occupy; and within its sphere official agencies are saved from serious blunders by being constantly advised or directed by the unofficial, and must be gradually supplanted by them. The scope of this movement may be left to the imagination, the outcome of it must be a better man.

RELIGION AS AN ECONOMIC FORCE.

It is in the higher regions of the social atmosphere that destructive storms are generated. We can see the relation of cause and effect in Voltaire and Robespierre, just as the student may hereafter observe the connection between Darwin and the Dynamiter. The wrongs which excite discontent to-day are not comparable to those of the last century, yet they are more keenly felt, because the condition of the masses is greatly improved, and men have greatly advanced in intelligence. Save in such countries as Russia, there is no popular grievance which is beyond the power of peaceful methods of redress, yet we may have a period of violence parodying the scenes of the last century, and if it occurs the scholar will be largely responsible for it. The new science of man's origin, accepted generally by the learned, is reaching the masses, among whom it is taken to authorize a new theory of man's duty and destiny. Revolutionary so-

cieties abroad have sedulously disseminated the gospel of materialism preached by English and German philosophers, and the secret revolutionary press and programmes denounce every system and form of religion with such effect that within their sphere all ideas and sentiments based upon it are lost. Atheism is the inheritance of a new generation, and we have the advent of the terrorist.

The scientific materialistic theory of the universe, which tends naturally toward atheism, was not invented by the socialists, but they readily adopted it. They announce earthly enjoyment as the end of existence, and if the means of such enjoyment cannot be otherwise obtained they propose to employ force. Religion is denounced as a mediæval mystification—a device of the rich for reconciling the poor to their hard lot, and preventing them from rebelling against their oppressors. Man is not a child of God, but a child of the beast that perishes; and over the door of the grave they have written: "There is no hereafter, and no meeting again."

As workingmen and their organizations abroad are more or less affiliated with the

secret revolutionary societies, there is constant interchange of services and ideas, and the poison of materialism and atheism is strewn along the paths of labor. This makes the difference between the approaching crisis and that of a hundred years ago: then the priest and ruler were assailed, now it is religion and government that are to be destroyed; then necessary violence was employed, now there is a resort to useless crimes.

The attitude of the leaders of the workingmen toward religion is a grave mistake; if they were students of history the influence of earnest religious faith in creating and preserving exceptionally beneficent economical conditions could not have escaped their notice. A merely common national creed may not obviously illustrate this, yet it is seen in a comparison of Christian and pagan countries; and it is seen more clearly where the faith assumes the form of a schism, and especially if it has a taint of heresy, so that its followers, whether organized as a community or not, have a separate social life with their religion as its bond and measure of duty. The order of life which may be maintained by such a sect or community may be quite different from that around it, and

in the face of causes tending to misery it may have substantial prosperity.

There is very strong testimony that Lollardy in England, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Puritan movement, Quakerism, and primitive Methodism were marked by a distinctive degree of general prosperity among the members of those sects, and this, too, was and still is seen in the Quakers, Menonnites and Tunkers; among whom there are no beggars, no paupers, and no criminals. These sects have illustrated the power of a peculiar religious faith as a communal bond and preservative against the degrading influences and accidents of civilized life; and there are more striking instances of religious direction in elevating and transforming savage life, as shown in the communities founded by the Jesuit Fathers in Paraguay and California.

At the present day the Mormons, Economites, Zoarites and Shakers exemplify the influence of religion as an economic force; and appear to justify the conclusion that the bond of a peculiar faith is powerful enough to temporarily change the organization and order of society, in the narrow limits within which it prevails.

If the atheistic leaders of socialistic and labor reforms are really in earnest, if they mean what they profess, their object is simply to organize a Christian community. They may be surprised to learn that they need no other charter for their society than the Sermon on the Mount—a divine law of human brotherhood and human equality, promulgated by one who was a workingman, and a leader of workingmen. It is not atheism they should preach, but a revival of religion. Not a revival of religion in the ordinary sense, though that is always a good thing, but something much more which from the smallest beginnings may lead to what the world is waiting for—the organization of a Christian community. This would be more phenomenally conspicuous as a new order of life than anything the world has yet seen in the way of socialistic experiments; and all progress which fixes itself not in things merely, but in men, tends toward realizing it, to the apprehension at least of those who believe in the providential direction of human history.

The laws governing the labors of mankind, as set forth by the political economists, are not represented as artificially imposed,

but as the common and universal concurrence of individual action. They express what men have done, may rightfully do, and should continue to do, to insure individual well-being and the good of society. It will not be denied that they are in direct conflict with the laws of life which religion everywhere authoritatively sets forth, and the course of human thought as well as the material progress of the age is pressing this antagonism to a definite issue. Opposed to the maxims of political economy we have such precepts of religion as these: "Take no thought for your life what ye shall eat or what ye shall drink, nor yet for your body what ye shall put on. * * Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth. * * Resist not evil. * * Give to him that asketh of thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away. * * All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you do ye even so to them. * * Love thy neighbor as thyself." If we should put forth these sayings as our own, laying them down as laws of human action to be literally observed, we would probably be regarded as an amiable lunatic, interesting as a sentimentalist, but quite

contemptible in the eyes of the man of science. His claim that the progress which the world has made, and is making, is owing to the rule of universal selfishness we have denied; but if it were true, which it is not, we might ask has the strife of man with nature been more successful because of the strife of man with man? Because of this has the earth been more fruitful? Have the occult powers of nature yielded themselves the sooner to man's service? Have the arts and inventions originated in it? Do we owe to it the great and permanent works which delight the universal mind and dignify human life?

It would not be extravagant to assert that the labors of man have been fruitful in the proportion that benevolence has replaced selfishness, and association has been substituted for competition, and this is the sum and substance of religion as a social and economic force—it means the abnegation of self, and the service of others. If all men could have such inspiration to labor the result could not be doubted; and it is because some men, indeed many men, have had it, that there is enjoyment of a measure of

peace and plenty with the promise of better things to come.

There are superficial students of history who array the crimes done in the name of religion as evidence that it has been a foe to human progress, they will deny that it has any proper place or influence in the direction of mankind, and may, like the nihilists, consider it easy to abolish it. What the race might have been without faith in the fatherhood of God and belief in the brotherhood of man, no one can guess, but if deprived of these ideas to-day, it would descend to barbarism. The sense of subordination to higher powers has been, and still is, necessary to the maintenance of human government, and this is so well understood that those who would overthrow the one are obliged to assail the other.

That intuitive belief in the supernatural, which is the foundation of religion, is a principle of human nature, is generally conceded, and we do not see how its influence can be seriously weakened or its functions permanently impaired by any theory of its origin, true or false. If we agree that it had its beginning in dreams, and enlarged itself through ignorance of the powers of nature,

and that its rudiments may be found in the lower animals, which, it is alleged, exhibit apprehensions of what to them is the supernatural, and even perform the equivalent of acts of worship,—the conclusion of such guesses, surmise and argument is, that religion is a part of human nature. If the sense of the supernatural, which maintains itself in the face of every advance in knowledge, has been evolved from dreams it nevertheless exists; it is perpetuated as a hereditary instinct, and it cannot be explained away. Its existence being conceded, it is at least as significant as any other instinct having an object, and we prefer to the vague guesses at its origin the simpler theory of a supernatural environment, which is more consistent with the doctrines of evolution and, indeed, appears to be their necessary scientific conclusion.

The instinct is there, it has always been there, of its origin nothing is known save that it has been a part of human nature throughout and beyond the known history of the race. As a fountain of superstitions, a receptacle of revelations, and the author of religions, its history is not closed, nor can it be while man exists. The German socialists

may write over the door of the tomb, "There is no hereafter," but they will never banish "the dread of something after death," which will continue to influence the conduct and character of mankind.

The socialists put their case artfully when they make it the office of atheism to destroy illusory happiness, and prepare the people for a violent conquest of earthly enjoyments through the abolition of property, of the family, and of human government. The hope of heavenly happiness is not the all of religion; it couples duty with destiny; and it is not the hope of heavenly joys, but the fear of divine retribution that the socialists wish to obliterate. The current fashion in science and current conditions in theology unite in aiding their efforts to overturn divine authority—efforts which appear formidable, but which will be

> "Like the tower which builders vain,
> Presumptuous piled on Shinar's plain."

Atheism, with the help of science, may have a temporary success, but "the old instinct will bring back the old names," and religion will continue to be the support of society, and to inspire and direct the labors of mankind. How much of harm the impending

conflict will do it is impossible to foresee; the good that may come of it will be a decline in priestcraft, a purification of doctrines, and a growth toward Christian law of the religious life. It is only in this way that some social problems can be solved. "Seek first the kingdom of God and His righteousness, and all these shall be added unto you."

THE NATURAL REWARD OF LABOR.

In entering upon the discussion of a subject which unquestionably belongs to the science of political economy it may be well to give the technical sense of terms which we will necessarily use.

Man is engaged in a struggle with nature; power over nature constitutes wealth. The resistance which nature opposes to man's efforts constitutes value. The value of things is the cost of their production; the value of a particular thing is the cost of its reproduction. As value is the measure of resistance to man's efforts, utility is the measure of his success. Commerce consists in the interchange of thoughts and things which men make with each other; and it is distinguished from trade, which consists in the exchange of things which some men make for others. Progress consists in diminishing the value of things through increase in the value of men.

This preface is necessary, and these definitions must be constantly borne in mind, as

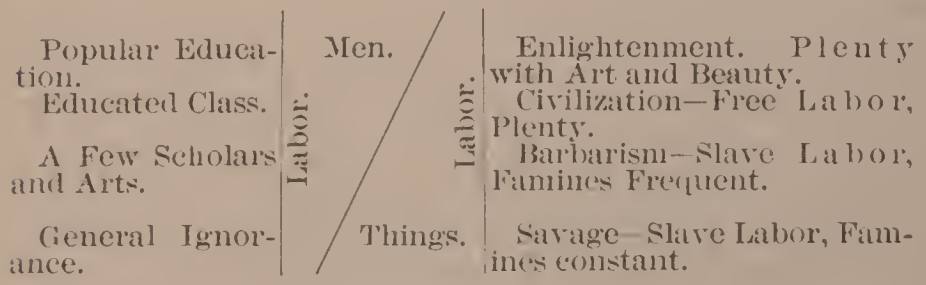
otherwise what we have to say will sometimes not be intelligible.

Labor may be divided as to its nature into that which produces material utilities, such as shelter, food, clothing, etc., and that which produces immaterial utilities, as instruction, amusement, government. As to the latter form of labor we have such high authority for including it among productive industries as J. B. Say, who in this is in direct opposition to his master, Adam Smith.

In our system it holds the highest place, and is entitled to chief regard. Simplicity of statement is attained by classing labor as that which is expended upon men and that which is expended upon things. To the first class belong the nurture and training of man himself—the most valuable product of civilization. It includes also the development and preservation of science and the arts, which are living and exist in the minds of men and not elsewhere. It includes the social and political organization of society maintained by the labors of men for men, and the laws which live in the breasts of the judges. It includes all the labor expended in making man a moral and religious being, intelligently subordinate to those higher ob-

ligations which are related to the civil laws as their ultimate sanction.

A more accurate division of productive industry, which will be used in our further discussion of the subject, will be into labor expended upon men, labor expended upon institutions, and labor expended upon things. This history of labor is represented as an ascending column, from the savage state to a condition of enlightenment, in the following rude diagram suggesting to the eye the distribution of labor and the progress of society. It is sufficient in this illustration to make institutions and men one class, and things another.



In savage life the whole community is employed in the production of material utilities—food, clothing, and shelter. No labor is expended on the training of man, and he is of little value as compared with things: a stone ax is worth more than a human life. Famines are constant, and for

lack of a little food whole tribes may perish. The progress of civilization is distinctly marked by the increasing proportion of labor which may be withdrawn from the production of things and employed in the perfection of institutions and the education of men, with the result that men constantly increase in value, and things constantly decline in value, and in the place of famine there is plenty. We commend the study of this apparent paradox to the workingman who is tempted to say to the scientist, the jurist, and the priest, "I have no need of thee."

As to the labor which produces material results, the natural law of its reward—the law of its wages—is simple. The rightful wages is the product: the workingman is entitled to the entire fruit of his toil. As to that more important, because more largely productive labor which directly originates immaterial utilities only, the natural law of its reward is not so obvious. It cannot be paid with the whole, or a part of its product. The doctor who cures a patient cannot be paid in health; the professor who educates a pupil cannot be paid in knowledge; the jurist cannot be paid with

a part of the principle of justice which he establishes. Looking at our ascending and widening column of labor, and considering all that is involved in it with reference to the teachings of history, we conclude that men naturally tend to rate this higher labor as to its honor and rewards according to the proportion in which it performs a social use. That labor which serves the whole community in its protection, direction, leadership, ranks highest; and this order descends by degrees, through service to smaller numbers, until it ends in that labor which, performing a material use only, is governed by another and different law of compensation.

The analysis we have made corresponds broadly to three social degrees, distinct, yet overlapping each other: the first and lowest, in which labor fixes itself in things; the second, in which labor fixes itself in institutions: the third and highest, in which labor fixes itself in man. It is just in the proportion that this last and highest form of labor prevails that productiveness increases, and that man increases in value, while institutions and things decline in value and increase in utility.

The advance from ignorance of the use of metals to the science of metallurgy was labor fixing itself in man; and its influence upon things is illustrated in an implement which has been used by man since his first appearance upon the earth, the history of which may be stated in units of value and of utility, or of expenditure of labor and its results as follows:

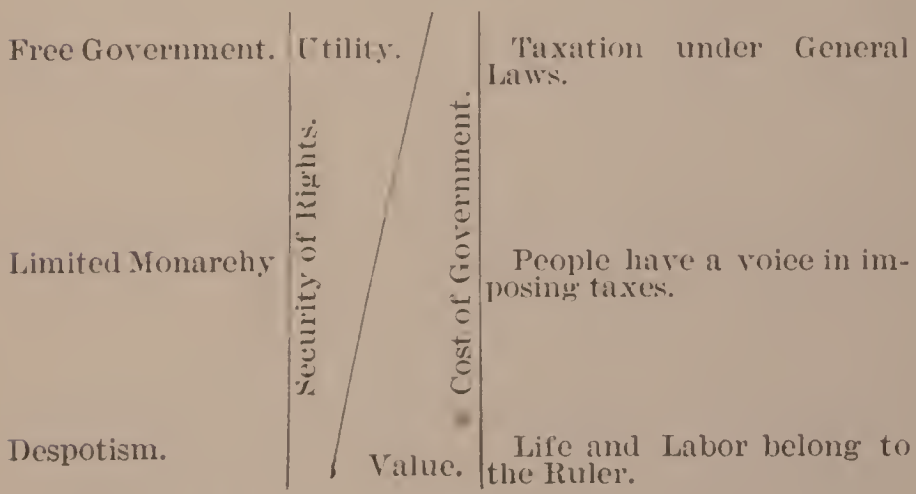
VALUE.		UTILITY.
100	The Stone ax,	1.
50	The Bronze ax,	50.
1	The Steel ax,	100.

The increasing column of utility and the diminishing column of value. indicate the constant growth in value of man and labor, and the corresponding decline in the value of things, which goes along with the progress of society, and in many instances which will suggest themselves to the reader this would not be adequately stated as a thousand fold.

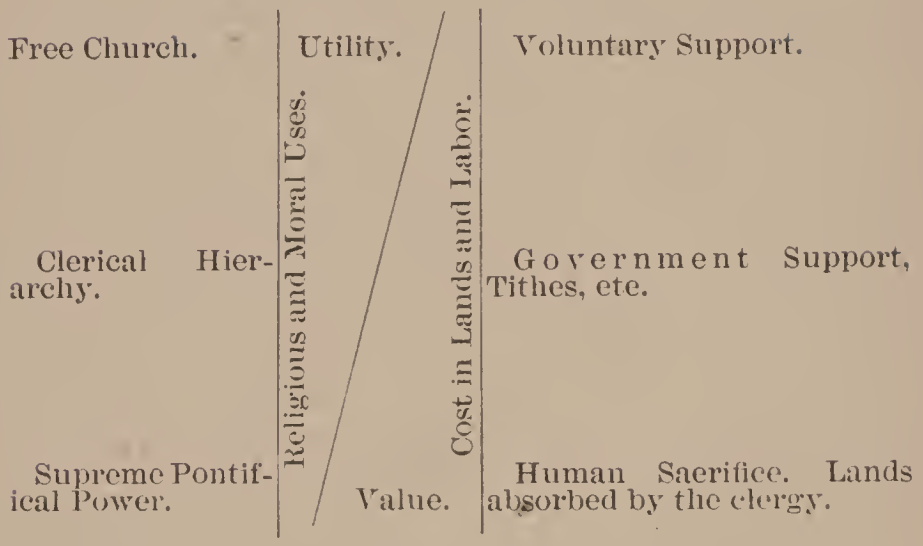
As to institutions—the state and the church—these in a progressive society obey the same law of declining values and increasing utility. In the ruder conditions of life, as in the early periods of history, the community is exhausted in the effort to pre-

serve itself. The head of the state requires and has control of the lives and labors of the people. The value of government is enormous, its utility small. The like holds good as to ecclesiastical institutions, the machinery of which in the ruder stages of society is infinitely costly as compared with the services which it renders. An illustration in the form of diagrams may be helpful, and will at least provoke criticism. Let the following ascending columns represent the stream of history:

POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS.



ECCLESIASTICAL INSTITUTIONS.



We hope that learned professors will not resent this effort to exhibit in a striking way these important general truths with approximate accuracy. It is not so easy as it looks, and they are welcome to improve upon it if they will. There have been benevolent tyrants, but it will not be disputed that the president is a better and cheaper ruler than the despot, or even the queen; there have been ecclesiastical autocrats of real beneficence, but the world will not again surrender itself to this form of absolutism. Our ascending columns are a history of the progessive increase in labor diverted from the production of things and devoted

to the arts and sciences—to giving increased value to man. The cost of government would be nothing if all men were fully and equally capable of self-government, and complete self-government would have the largest utility. This is the ultimate goal, and it will not be reached by reform of the laws, but by the improvement of man. Every breach of social order, every invasion of the rights of others, every act of violence, is a check to progress and a thrust of society backward toward despotism. The men who resort to mob violence to attain their ends, are in the highest degree criminals, for generally the ordinary criminal—the thief, burglar, and murderer—has directly injured but a single individual, while these higher offenders are the foes of society.

The social services required, or necessary, have varied in different countries and in different periods of history, but in the earliest civilizations, and thence downward to the present time, through multitudinous perversions and usurpations, there may be traced the common tendency of mankind to value labors in accordance with their social use. An illustration is found in the institution of castes which the Aryan Hindoos

brought into India with the Brahminical religion more than fourteen centuries before Christ, and which is maintained to this day. The four principal castes in the order of their dignity were the Brahmins, Kshatryas, Vaisyas, and Sudras. The office of the Brahmins was to teach the religion of the Veda, offer sacrifice to the gods, conduct the ceremonies of religion, and to receive and make gifts. The Kshatryas were magistrates and teachers having a lower order of religious functions, whose duty was to protect the people, do charity, offer sacrifices, read the holy scriptures, and control their desires. The Vaisyas were to keep cattle, cultivate the land, carry on trade, give alms, sacrifice and pray. All other people and occupations belonged to the Sudras caste. An institution of this kind could not be imposed upon races and nations by force or external authority. It was evolved from within, and as a picture of a highly organized society as it existed more than three thousand years ago, it is most interesting to the student of human nature.

With the abolition of the hereditary principle, by republican governments, the hard and fast lines which maintained classes and

castes in society, have been abolished; and society has been strengthened by having the way to social services opened to all. The castes are gone, but the functions remain; and they have been elevated and enlarged and infinitely increased in utility. Now, more than ever, does the welfare of every member of society depend upon the perfection of the services which give the community its peaceful order, which protect the public health, and which preserve that great treasury of knowledge and justice that every man, even the poorest, leaves as a rich inheritance to his children.

It is impossible to put this matter too strongly or say it too often. Workingmen are constantly told, and many of them believe, that physical or muscular labor is the only productive labor. This is true only among savages and in the earlier stages of society, in which the laborer is generally a slave. He has been enfranchised and is preserved in freedom by the labors—intellectual, moral, and religious, which preserve the sciences and the arts; maintain social order, and tend more and more to induce a general and voluntary respect for the rights of others.

It is a general law that just in the proper-

tion that labor is mixed with intelligence, as it tends to change its form from muscular to mental, does it increase in estimation, in productiveness, and in reward; and this tendency is in proportion to the perfection of society, or in other words, the association of man with his fellows. The first implement for breaking the soil with the aid of animal power was probably the fork of a tree; a tool that had but little utility, and labor with it could not be productive. Association with the miner and metal worker gave the husbandman a plow, which was so largely efficient that there was enough grain for three where formerly there had been not enough for one. The hand-loom weaver produced enough cloth for a single garment by a day's labor. Association with the miner, the metal-worker, and the inventor enabled him to produce cloth for a hundred garments in a day, increasing greatly the share of the product which he could retain for his services; the principal increase of productiveness being attributable to the purely mental labor of the inventor alone. Muscular labor perishes in its use; it dies the moment it is born; mental labor may live forever.

All power over nature centers in man.

The arts are living; they exist because one generation of men takes them up and carries them forward to another that takes them up and carries them forward again. The sciences are living; they exist only in so far as men know them and can communicate them. Laws are living; they are not found in books, but in the breasts of the judges who are their exponents. Place the libraries of the city of Chicago in Central Africa, with all the implements used in the arts, and the ignorant race of men in that country would receive no benefit. With vast stores of knowledge at hand, they would remain in ignorance; with all the appliances of power, they would remain in misery. Transport the population of Chicago to an uninhabited region, and they would soon provide for themselves an industrial and social state equal to that which they now possess.

Power over nature, which constitutes wealth, inheres in man; it is a social power, and that labor which performs social uses is most largely productive of both material and immaterial utilities.

THE NATURAL REWARD OF LABOR

[Continued.]

The free-trade school of political economy gives us a law of wages which results in part from an irresistible tendency of human nature, and in part from such an organization of society as exists in England; and because it is English it is assumed to be natural, necessary and just. It is stated thus by J. B. Say: "Necessary subsistence may be taken to be the standard of the wages of common raw labor." As Ricardo puts it, "there is everywhere a minimum rate of wages, either the lowest at which it is physically possible to keep up the population, or the lowest with which the people will choose to do so. To this minimum the general rate of wages always tends." In this J. S. Mill concurs, and he illustrates the futility of all efforts to mitigate the rigor of this law, as follows: "When the laborer depends solely upon wages there is a virtual minimum. If wages fall below the lowest rate which

will enable the population to be kept up, the population at last restores them to that lowest rate. There is a rate of wages, either the lowest on which the people can live or the lowest at which they will consent to live. We will suppose this to be seven shillings a week. Shocked at the wretchedness of this pittance, the parish authorities humanely make it up to ten. But the laborers are accustomed to seven and will live on that. Their habits will not be altered for the better by receiving parish pay. Receiving three shillings from the parish, they will be as well off as before, though they should increase sufficiently to bring down wages to four shillings. They will accordingly people down to that point."

Our American college professors who belong to the free-trade school, all of whom are under English influences, accept the English theory of wages, either fully or with slight modifications intended to make it less obnoxious to the commonalty.

The theory of a natural minimum rate of wages is helped out by the assumption that wages are paid by the capitalist out of capital; that there is a certain amount of capital, large or small, in every community, set apart

for the purpose of employing labor, which is called the wages fund; and that the rate of wages depends upon the proportion between the magnitude of this fund and the whole number of laborers. This theory, which is now out of fashion in England, where it was invented, is still taught in American colleges, and is set forth by Professor Perry as follows: "Wherever there is capital there is a wages fund, and we have just seen that the connection is between the whole capital and that portion of it which is ready to be devoted to the payment of wages. If we call this portion of capital, or wages fund, a dividend, and the number of laborers a divisor, the quotient will be the general average rate of wages at that time and place. This principle invariably determines the current rate of wages in a country. If the laborers are few relatively to the amount of capital, there will be a large dividend, and a small divisor and infallibly a large quotient. In the reverse case when laborers are many as compared with the capital that seeks to employ them, the large divisor and small dividend will surely give a small quotient."

Professor Perry touches the question of population very gingerly, but it is plain that

upon this subject he is necessarily in accord with Mr. Mill. There is no human element entering into their law of wages other than the tendency of laborers to be improvidently prolific. It is purely a question of arithmetic. Professor Perry shows in this way that the protectionists are fools, and that government can do nothing to give better wages to workingmen. "The question of wages," he says, "is a question of division, and there is no use arguing against one of the four fundamental rules of arithmetic." The futility of tariff legislation is clear to him, because the number of laborers cannot be diminished nor the wages fund increased by act of congress.

The natural law of wages of labor employed in the production of material utilities —exchangeable things,—relates back to the natural right to private property; it is coextensive with it, and is simply expressed in the declaration that the workingman is entitled to the entire fruit of his toil. The wages of labor is the product of the labor, the whole of it, nothing less than this is justice to the laborer; more than this may be injustice to some other laborer. The doctrine is in no sense revolutionary or destructive, but is in the highest degree conservative of

social and industrial order and of individual rights. How the money representing wages may be paid, or how it is paid, is not the question. We are not considering whether it may sometimes be drawn from capital, or comes out of the product, or may be taken out of profits. We propound the measure of the laborer's natural right—a general law, which merely by being announced will receive universal assent. Its recognition is of value because a true definition of rights involves a corresponding definition of duties, the two things standing to each other constantly and reciprocally as effect and cause, and cause and effect—I cannot have my rights unless I respect the rights of others.

Our American political economy says that labor is the first purchase money paid for everything which we possess, and the jurists say that it is the origin of the title to everything which we possess. It follows that whatever is not a product of labor cannot rightfully be regarded as anybody's property; like the light and air it must be the common property of the race.

Our definition of the rights of labor appears to concede the whole programme of the international and other socialistic organi-

zations of workingmen; but we shall see in the end, that it necessarily leads to widely different conclusions as to matters of individual conduct, the organization of industry, and public policy.

Does the laborer get the whole product of his labor—the entire fruit of his toil? Let us examine the matter by taking the simplest illustration possible. The sea and the fish therein have been made by no man's hands; and the savage fisherman may have full enjoyment of his natural rights. The fish that he catches are altogether his own; they are the product of his labor—his natural wages. We may suppose a tribe living upon the shore and subsisting by fishing to be all in the equal enjoyment of their natural rights. Famines are frequent, for the better fishing grounds at a distance from the shore are inaccessible. A member of the tribe, more skillful and self-denying than his fellows, having accumulated a stock or food, employs his leisure in making a boat, by which he is insured very much larger success in obtaining fish. This is an instance of capital united with labor and effecting increased productiveness. The boat is the fruit of his toil; it is his own, and he

is protected in its enjoyment by the natural law of wages. Another savage wishing the use of this boat must enter into treaty for it with the owner, and he will get it probably by giving to the owner a share of his catch of fish. The natural law of wages would give the whole difference between shore-fishing and sea-fishing to the capitalist, the owner of the boat, as that is his contribution to the product; but if he exacts so much no one will hire his boat, and he will have to fish himself or let his boat lie idle. He must offer an advantage to labor if he will sit at his ease and obtain a profit, by giving to labor not only its full natural reward, but in addition to that a part of his own natural profit. If unaided labor employed in shore-fishing produces one hundred fish and the employment of the boat produces two hundred fish the boat-owner cannot require the increased product of a hundred fish for the use of his boat. He must concede part of the increased product to the laborer, who otherwise will not hire his boat, but continue to fish from the shore. He will concede as little as possible; and if he owns the only boat in the community he may exact ninety fish, leaving the laborer after pay-

ment of boat-hire with a hundred and ten. As the number of boats increase the hire of boats will diminish; a second boat may reduce the rental value of the first one-half, and each increase in boats diminishes the power of the boat owners and increases the reward of the laborer who is obliged to hire a boat. This is in little the picture of a progressive community, in which capital is growing; and as a consequence, men are increasing in value and capital is declining in value and increasing in utility. Every improvement in boats operates in the same way if it leads to an increased product of fish. The share of the product which the laborer may take increases both in its proportion and amount. The share of the capitalist declines in proportion and increases in amount. Five per centum of the catch made by his improved boats and their appliances gives him vastly more wealth than fifty per centum of the product obtained by the employment of the first rude canoe.

The illustration we have used may be found as perfectly in any productive union of capital and labor in every form of industry—a steam hammer, a power-loom, or a train of rolls will serve as well as a boat.

The laborer gets not only the entire fruit of his toil, but he also gets in every progressive community a constantly increasing proportion of the fruit of the toil of other men. It is a beneficent law to which there is no exception; and the demagogues who would incite labor to the destruction of capital, have not risen mentally above the condition of the famished savage tribe not yet advanced to the felicity of boat-owning and doing all its fishing from the shore.

It is usual to regard capital as the employer of labor, but we have represented labor as employing capital; and this is the essential fact in whatever form the treaty is conducted or the bargain made, because labor furnishes the means of payment, both of wages and profits. But put it either way, the terms upon which capital and labor unite in productive industry must be the subject of treaty. The savage needing a boat can not take it from the owner by force if he would preserve any right to the enjoyment of the fish he may be able to catch. The title of each is the same, and the degree in which it is respected is the essential difference between slavery and freedom, between barbarism and civilization.

As the labors of man become diversified, as commerce arises and the organization of industry necessarily assumes complexity, the nature of the relations of capital and labor, and the relations of one laborer to another, and each to all, are not readily seen; and the numberless treaties by which they are regulated resolve themselves, to ignorant men, into mere hostility between the worker for wages and his employer, each striving to get as much for himself and to give as little to the other as possible—a condition of things most fruitful of injustice and injury, which, we are told by our free-trade oracles, is natural and necessary.

Further difficulty in understanding the nature of wages results from the use of money. It is this entirely non-essential element of the problem which inspired Professor Perry's brilliant school-boy effort to work it out on a slate; and it gives Henry George the absurd idea that the rewards of labor are greatest in semi-barbarous frontier life, and are diminished by the diversification of industry and the perfection of society. The wages of the laborer is the product of his labor, whether it be fish, or iron, or cloth. It may not be, perhaps never is, this in form,

but it is always this in fact; and, as we shall show hereafter, this is not a final statement, for his real wages is his dividend of the sum of all other productive industries. The money used in adjusting these complicated accounts is the material symbol of a purely ideal standard of value. We are much more metaphysical than we imagine; and the country cross-roads politician who understands that great mystery—money; and Professor Perry, who tells us in an easy and off-hand way all about wages, alike excite our admiration.

REWARD OF LABOR--WAGES.

In the existing complex organization of our industries, the first division of his product that the laborer has to make is with other laborers. Every laborer is entitled to the entire fruit of his toil, and to get it, it must be disentangled from the fruit of the toil of others.

We have the statistics of the operations of a manufactory of woolen cloth for a period of seven years, showing number of workmen, wages paid, cost, product, etc., with a complete analysis of six months' operations in the year 1881, and we propose to use this to illustrate the complex nature of the problem. The total production of the mill during the six months was 146,371 pounds of cloth, which was worth at the average price for seven years, $1.28 per pound, giving as a monthly average, 24,395 pounds of cloth worth $31,245.60. The number of workers was 225, and an equal division of the product would give to each 108 pounds of cloth, or $138.86. They did not and could not get this,

for there were more than 2½ pounds of wool consumed in making each pound of cloth, and this wool was labor, employed in agriculture, transportation, etc., which must be paid, for it is entitled to the fruit of its toil; and if it is not paid there will be no more wool, and the factory will stop. There were also the dye-stuffs, scouring and finishing material, oil, fuel, lights, repairs, supplies, freights, drayage, etc., these things being fruit of the toil of a great many laborers—miners, mechanics, agriculturists, etc.—who are entitled to their share of the cloth, or its market price; and if they do not get it they will be robbed, the organization of labor necessary to the operation of the factory will be destroyed, and the business will come to an end. The account with those other laborers stated in terms of monthly expense and divided among the workingmen in the mill, shows what each of them must pay out of his share of the product.

Cr.		
Each workman by his share of cloth.....		$138.86
Dr.		
To his share of wool.....	$100.20	
Dye stuffs.....	2.86	
Scouring and finishing material.....	2.17	
Fuel (power) and light.....	2.98	
Wool oil.....	1.02	
Repairs and Supplies.....	2.76	
Freight and drayage.....	1.37	
Expenses (taxes, water, etc.).....	1.90	
		115.26
		$23.60

This is equivalent to eighteen and a half pounds of cloth left for each of the workingmen after his debts to other laborers are paid, which are the first lien on the product. Observe that up to this time the mill-owners, who, as the workingmen are told, are his natural enemies, have taken no share of the cloth. The buildings and machinery are almost pure labor, the raw materials of which they were made—ore, clay, sand and timber being an infinitesimal portion of the cost. They were the product of laborers, who exchanged them with the mill-owners for other things they needed and enjoyed. If something is not paid for their use the building of mills and machinery will come to an end. The owners also furnish the large capital

needed in bringing together 380,000 pounds of wool, and the other supplies required in carrying on the business, taking all the risk of loss. If the laborers had agreed with the owners that if they would furnish a mill, machinery and working capital, they should be paid for its use as good a profit as the laborers paid to any other capitalist employed by them, it would have been a fair bargain.

When the factory was built, money loaned readily at eight per centum per annum, and it was worth six per centum in 1881. The laborer who borrowed money from the private banker paid him interest at the rate of ten or twelve per centum per annum. The laborers who dealt with the capitalist saloon-keeper paid him a profit of four or five hundred per centum, and they paid the capitalist shop-keeper twenty-five or thirty per centum of profit on his wares. During the seven years prior to 1881, the profit upon the capital employed in operating the factory averaged seven and three-tenths per centum, there being no compensation for the large capital invested in the mill itself. If this hire of capital comes out of the product it reduces by so much the share of the laborer; but if we assume, as was the case in one year,

that the share of the capitalist was so small as not to be worth counting in the division, and that the use of the entire capital was a free gift to the laborers, we are not yet at the end of our difficulties, for our 225 working people will not agree to an equal division among themselves of the product of their joint labors, which will give to each of them $23.60 per month. The 54 men, 33 boys and 138 girls employed in the factory cannot be made to accept equality of wages.

The problem to settle now is how to make equitable division between the factory laborers themselves of what remains to them after the charges for other labor have been paid, and it is an intrinsic trouble not to be evaded by eliminating the capitalist. It would exist in its full force if the workingmen owned the factory and the capital employed in operating it, and conducted the business themselves. They would have skilled and unskilled labor—men, women, boys and girls, clerks, messengers, sorters, corders, dyers, spinners, weavers, finishers, engineers, etc., etc. The rule of equality would be the worst inequality and could not possibly be enforced. The organization of labor employed in the mill is a type of advanced

civilization; it has its necessary complexity with the necessary differences in employments and rewards. The equitable principle is to divide the cloth in such a way as to give to each workman a share exactly proportioned to the degree in which his labor contributes to the product; but how shall this be determined? It is difficult to do, and is not always done. It is quite possible for one class of workmen to get more than its share of the product and another to get less. The inequalities in this respect may be more glaring than any difference between the reward of labor generally and the profit of the capitalist. The difference between the wages of the dyer, the finisher, the engineer and other high-class workmen in this and other industries and the wages of the common laborer makes class distinctions that are clearly defined, and, notwithstanding the prevalence of injustice in the distribution of the fruit of their comman toil, equitable readjustment is difficult if not impossible. In the strike for higher wages made by high-class workmen the laborer may have no interest. He may be, and almost always is, the sufferer by it; but he sees nothing in it but a war upon a common enemy, and acts

what he conceives to be a manly part in the strife.

These differences have their origin in the different degrees in which the laborers contribute the use of capital in the form of skill and intelligence to the attaining of the common result, and in so far as this principle obtains they are entirely justifiable. In our manufactory of cloth the dyer had a large capital of this sort, and his monthly wages amounted to $104.00, or eighty-one and one-quarter pounds of cloth, while the average monthly wages were for men $43.12, equivalent to thirty-four yards of cloth. There were men who got as their share not one-third of what the dyer, the finisher and the weaver each received.

If the mill had been presented to the workingmen as a gift they could not have operated it upon any other plan. The inequalities of pay for different classes of work would necessarily be maintained, and if the dyer should become dissatisfied they would probably raise his wages, while a dissatisfied laborer would be promptly discharged The various rates of compensation for different kinds of work have shaped themselves by long attrition upon each other, and whether

intrinsically just or not, they must necessarily be recognized and respected.

We see here an impediment to the improvement of the condition of the unskilled laborer found within the ranks of labor itself. The dyer will not accept laborers' wages, the puddler keeps his helper in a position of inferiority, the miner does not divide his earnings equally with the laborer he employs as an assistant. In point of mere muscular toil, these classes may be upon an equality, or the man who is paid least may have the hardest work; but any increase in wages is likely to go to the man who already gets the largest pay, or his share is larger in proportion to the existing inequality. His acquired capital in the form of skill has cost him something to get and he charges for the use of it, and rightly, for its employment gives an increased product. This would be illustrated at once if laborers only were employed in a cloth factory, in mining, puddling, or in any other occupation where skill is a requisite. The product of their industry would not give them the wages they formerly received—it would be worse than labor lost.

Recognizing the class distinctions which

prevail among workers for wages, it is illogical to regard them generally as a class, or to pretend that muscular toil alone is labor. There is no other field in which capital in the form of skill counts for so much as among wage workers, or which, viewing it in mass, it has more power, or has received larger rewards.

There is no such thing as a democracy of labor. Among the workers for wages we find classes which are plebeian and others which are aristocratic; and the latter defend their order, and insist upon their superior rights, with as much vigor and larger effectiveness than any other capitalists. They have as little disposition to divide equally with their fellows as Vanderbilt, or the other rich men denounced by Henry George in his inflammatory essays, largely read by workingmen, who have, in some instances, made their profitable occupations a real monopoly as effectively sealed against their poorer fellows as Vanderbilt's mansion is sealed against the mass of people who pass along Fifth avenue.

The law that gives to the laborer the entire fruit of his toil, finds application in giving to skilled labor the larger dividend; for

with increase of skill there is increase of product, which is the common fund for the payment of wages; and in this increase, as we shall see hereafter, all laborers, skilled and otherwise, have a common interest and benefit.

It has been simpler and easier to give our illustration in terms of money, rather than in cloth, but we must always keep it in mind that the wages of labor is the laborer's equitable share of the product. As we have shown it is not easy to determine what this is, and the largest difficulty in making the division is not the demands of capital, but is found within the ranks of labor itself; the tendency being to conform to the general law which makes the degree of skill indicative of the degree of productiveness. We may safely say that this is a general law, that practically it has no limitation, and that education may be extended to every class and kind of labor with the same beneficial results. The only possible way of making a general and permanent increase in the rewards of labor is to increase its productiveness.

REAL WAGES.

I have said that the wages of labor is its product, or where many laborers coöperate, it is a just and equitable share of the product—cloth, or iron, or whatever the thing produced may be—but it is not this really. The real wages includes a share in the product of many other industries. Owing to the employment of capital in the form of skill and machinery, the workers in our woolen factory make an enormous quantity of cloth; and each man receives a very large amount as his share, as compared with what his unaided efforts would produce. He has a large surplus of cloth, and he has no sooner received it than he begins to exchange it with other laborers for the fruit of their toil. For convenience he first converts his cloth into money, which is done for him by the mill owner, and this gives the character of purchase and sale to transactions which are really barter and exchange. He wants boots, which are a product of the farmer, tanner, and shoemaker; he wants muslin or

linen, which has in it the labor of other operatives and many other laborers; he wants a great number of things which are the products of an infinite number of people, who must coöperate to serve him, and who like him are entitled to the fruit of their toil. The furnishing of his house and his clothing may be the joint labor of hundreds of workmen. The contents of his dinner bucket, if traced to their source, would carry him across the continent and around the globe. What he can get of these other indispensable things for his share of cloth is his real wages; and he is well off or badly off in the proportion that the product of his industry bears to the product of these other industries. In making the exchanges by which he gets his real wages, money plays a useful and, in most instances, an indispensable part. All other laborers will accept money for their products, while but few of them would accept cloth.

The real wages of the laborer depends upon the productiveness of all the other industries which serve him, and they depend, in turn, upon him. He is one of many—a partner in an infinite number of enterprises and interested in their success. Every discovery and invention that increases produc-

tiveness inures to his benefit; every improvement in agriculture, in the arts, in transportation, is a boon to labor. His own fidelity and skill will not avail if there is not fidelity and skill in all the walks of industry. The idler, the shirk, does not merely injure himself, he is a public robber; and the dignity of labor appears in this, that while it is directly the service of self it is indirectly a service of others.

The difference between nominal and real wages may be so great that a comparison of the money paid in one place, or in one country, and in another, may lead to the most erroneous conclusions. Henry George would have us believe that in the early days of placer mining in California, when each man could wash out gold and keep all he got as his wages, labor was better rewarded than after the introduction of machinery gave a larger product of gold and brought civilization into the community. It is supposed that the industry he eulogizes so highly was exceptionally precarious, that in it a fortunate few attained wealth, and the many suffered want—such want that their meanness of life has no parallel in civilized communities, and that the sum of the gettings of all,

if equally divided, would not give each as much as the average wages in other industries. There are many reasons for supposing this report to be true, and it is true; but if such a division gave to each gold-digger more money, his real wages were less than those of the laborer upon the streets in an American city. The gold digger on the frontier got as his real wages enough flour and bacon to sustain life in a hovel. The laborer in the city got better food and more of it, better clothing and more of it, a better house with comforts in it, and he got also, what the gold digger could not have, the attendance of a physician and clergyman, the domestic services of woman, the help and companionship of children, wholesome amusements if he wanted them, the theater and the newspaper. These things are real wages, they are wealth: and as to them the average or even the lucky gold digger was in the lowest degree of want.

The title of Henry George's book implies a falsehood. "Progress and Poverty" do not go hand in hand. Wealth is power over nature; and this power increases as men increase in numbers, as they acquire the aid of capital, as their industries are diversified and in propor-

tion to the intimacy of their association. By an irresistible law every improvement in these respects inures more and more largely to the benefit of the laborer, and increases his real wages. The growth of poverty may be more readily and simply accounted for by the growth of vice, of which laborers have no monopoly—from it, merely because they are workers and not idlers they are largely protected—and it brings rich and poor alike to one common level of wretchedness.

We have probably discredited the theory of Professor Perry that the wages of labor is a question in arithmetic to be worked out upon a slate, and the boys in his class will understand the matter without further illustration. There is a common fund, the product of all the industries, from which each laborer gets his real wages, not without diminution, for the indirect way in which he makes his contribution to the general treasury and draws out his share of the contributions of others, costs him a large part of the fruits of his toil. The operation involves the use of instruments of commerce—roads, ships, wagons and cars—every improvement of which is a benefit to the laborer by increasing his real wages. They are instruments of associ-

ation and therefore perform a useful function, but they add nothing to the product of labor; and the rewards of labor increase just in the proportion that they may be dispensed with by bringing into closer association all the useful industries. As the plow, the loom, and the anvil are nearer together, the real wages of the farmer, the cloth-maker and the iron-worker increase, by dispensing with the tax for the use of roads and ships, and wagons and cars, and another tax for the costly services of a multitude of men who add nothing whatever to the fund from which wages are paid, but abstract for their own use a very large portion of it. This is the policy of protection to home industry; and it is in direct opposition to the theory of free trade, which would have the plow in one country—America, for instance, and the loom and the anvil thousands of miles away—in England, for instance, so as to give employment to many ships and wagons and cars, and to a multitude of transporters, clerks, and traders, who take a large share of the wheat and iron and cloth from the common fund belonging to the workers for wages.

The reason given by the free-traders for classing trading with the productive indus-

tries is that it confers value upon things. The farther the producer and consumer can be separated the more power the trader will have in this respect; but we have seen that what is wanted is to reduce the value of things, not to increase it, that such increased value is not wealth but want.

Adam Smith puts the case that if the tobacco, which in England is worth only a hundred thousand pounds, when sent to France will purchase wine which is in England worth a hundred and ten thousand pounds, the exchange will augment the capital of England ten thousand pounds. This appears to him an increase of wealth. If the English trader could get up a corner in wine, and double its price, making it worth two hundred thousand pounds, then by the same reasoning he would increase the wealth of England ten times as much as in the instance given; or a corner in tobacco would do the same, leaving out the wine trade. In Dr. Smith's case England has lost a certain amount of tobacco, and in its place has obtained a certain quantity of wine. The capital of the country has not been increased in the slightest degree; there has been additional value conferred upon wine beyond

what it bore in France, and the greater the increase of this value, the greater is the necessity for the English laborer who wants wine, to give more labor, more of the fruits of his toil, to get it.

Dr. Wayland says in his "Elements of Political Economy," "that exchangers are as necessary to the cheapness of production as producers themselves," which we grant; it is unfortunately true. "Hence," he continues, "we also see how absurd is the outcry sometimes against them, because it is said, *they produce nothing*. The laborer may sometimes complain that the merchant is rich, and that he is poor, that the merchant stands at his desk, while he labors in the street; that the merchant rides in his carriage, while he travels on foot. But it may be for him some consolation to remember that were not the merchant rich, the laborer would be still poorer, for every article would be dearer; and besides there would be no one to pay for the labor with which alone he is able to purchase it. Were not the merchant to be at his desk, the poor man would have no labor to do in the street; and were not the merchant able to ride in his carriage, the laborer would be obliged to go barefoot."

The burdensome tax upon labor imposed by trade could not have a more full and frank admission than this, nor could there be a more stupid apology for it. Taking the whole range of exchanges which laborers should make with each other, and which the huckster, groceryman, commission merchant, jobber, and retail dealer make for them, not less than one-third of their product is lost by the way, and the case is worse as the machinery is multiplied. There are retail dealers upon retail dealers, and a smaller retail dealer still for the service of the poorest laborers, whose tribute to trade takes almost the entire fruit of their toil.

It is not one merchant who keeps a carriage at the expense of Dr. Wayland's laborer. The commission merchant has a very fine one to begin with; the jobber and the retail dealer also keep their carriages; so also do the junior partners; the head clerks imitate their employers; and almost everybody connected with the business of moving goods from place to place, except the laborers who lift and carry them, scorns to go afoot. Here are the finest squares in a great city—they are owned and occupied by the wholesale dealers and commission

merchants. Here is street after street devoted to the jobbing trade; here are thousands of retail dealers and an array of clerks, bookkeepers and other servants—and all are a tax upon productive industry. Their multiplication tends to diminish the value of labor and increase the value of things. The services they render are in part useful and necessary, but a multitude of them might be profitably eliminated. They are parasites upon labor that have enormously increased in numbers in this country since the close of the civil war. Where there was one broker in stocks, or wool, or grain, or other merchandise twenty years ago, there are a hundred now, and some producer loses the larger part of what they gain. Every article of manufacture pays one, and sometimes two commissions, and two or three profits before the laborer gets his share of it. The multiplication of saloons in the liquor trade, and of retail shops in all other trades, has been enormous. The burden of all this is becoming greater than labor can bear, and it is no wonder that times are hard and laborers badly off. The laborer pays for it all. It all comes out of the product.

REAL WAGES—TRADE.

Plenty does not consist in an abundance of necessary or useful things that are inaccessible to those who need them. There is always plenty of fish in the sea. There was plenty of food in Ireland during the famine years of 1846–7. The American ships laden with supplies for its starving people encountered vessels carrying Irish agricultural products to England in the usual course of trade. During the famine years the exportation of grain from Ireland to England aggregated 22,222,416 bushels. Cheapness and plenty are not identical or convertible terms.

The organization of industries has increased productiveness enormously, but the workman in one of them is necessarily so situated that the entire fruit of his toil, however large it may be, if received by him in kind, would be of little use to him. The cloth weaver, with all the cloth he made in his hands, would starve to death. The farm laborer, with all the food he produced in his hands, would be houseless and naked. The

exchanges which these laborers must effect are, first, they must convert their share of their products into money—this is their nominal wages; next, they must convert their money into food, clothing, shelter, mental improvement and enjoyment, etc.—which constitute their real wages. The first exchange is made with the employer, to whom the laborer surrenders his share of the product for compensation that is customary, or which is adjusted from time to time by agreements between the parties. The employer takes the risk of the market—of gaining or losing by the transaction—and he is deeply interested in disposing of the product to the best advantage. He studies the course of trade, negotiates with commission and wholesale merchants, employs traveling salesmen, bookkeepers, clerks and managers. This is the principal function of the employer, the risk in it is great, and it requires special training and skill, which workmen generally do not possess, as is shown by the fate of enterprises organized for coöperative production, which have been generally unsuccessful because of the lack of commercial, or what is called business talent. The wages system is, and must continue for

a great while to be, better and safer for the laborer than coöperation pure and simple, with the hazards attending it.

It is upon the fixing of their nominal wages, the money price of labor, that the attention of the workingmen is concentrated. The struggle over this point is called a war between labor and capital, and increase or diminution of the money price of labor is taken to mean success upon one side or the other. This conflict is regarded as natural and necessary, and it is supposed that a step has been gained when all the employers and all the workingmen in a particular industry are organized into military camps, frequently carrying on hostilities without regard to the rules of civilized warfare! It is here that the destruction of capital is advocated by those idiots referred to in a former chapter, of the mental caliber of the tribe of starving savages, who have not attained to the felicity of boat owning, and who do all their fishing from the shore.

This point of conflict, where the money price of labor is adjusted, is first in importance, but not of the largest consequence. The changes which may be effected here by collision between employers and workmen

are insignificant when compared with changes vaguely known as "bad times" and "good times" in the wider field of real wages, into which the laborer must at once enter with his earnings in his hand to secure all the goods for mind and body that sustain his activities and constitute his life. In this adventure we are told that everything has been made easy for him. He finds himself surrounded by a host of people whose anxiety to render him service gives him the greatest possible advantage. He has but to pick and choose. He is under the protection of competition, an all-powerful and beneficent deity with whom he is a peculiar favorite. "Competition," says Dr. Smith, "is the great regulator of industrial action. It is beneficent, just, and equalizing. In the market of the world it is what gravitation is in the mechanism of the heavens, an all-combining and balancing and beneficent law. Any invasion of this principle is contrary to the law of nature, and of sound political economy."

Competition may have wonderful effects in the market of the world, but there are a great many things within the sphere of the expenditure of wages which it cannot touch; and, as to the things which might be affected

by it, it is either injurious or has a trick of failing at the moment when something is expected of it.

Taxes are unaffected by competition, and the difference between good and bad government may make a very great difference in the burden upon wages. The fees of the doctor and lawyer and other professional men are not competitive, but are regulated uniformly by a standard of their own. The charges for light and water are generally just what the municipality or a private corporation chooses to make them. Rents are practically unaffected by competition—"the market of the world" does not supply houses—and as the dwelling of the laborer must perforce be near to his labors the competition for the kind of house he needs is apt to be one-sided—between those who want—and this does not inure to his advantage. More than a third of his wages is expended by the high class laborer without any protection from the beneficent law eulogized by Adam Smith; but we are assured that he will come to it at last, in the domain of transportation and trade.

It is just here, however, that certain indispensable conditions may be lacking, or the

beneficent law fails to assert itself. The prices of articles of trade are regulated in a general way by the markets of the world; but the efforts of a multitude of people skilled in the art of buying cheap and selling dear, buying cheap from the producer and selling dear to the consumer, do not seem very effective in benefiting the laborers at either end of the process. In the first place the traders must all be supported by the traffic, and, as Dr. Wayland has remarked, they must be supported in a much better style than that in which the laborers can afford to live. He regards it as quite natural and proper that the trader should keep his carriage while the laborer goes afoot; and the good doctor sees some occult connection between the ability of the trader to keep his carriage and the laborer's ability to wear shoes, for he says if the trader did not keep his carriage the laborer would not merely go afoot—he would go barefoot!

Though the prices of articles of food, clothing, etc., are regulated in a general way by the markets of the world, the advantages of fluctuations in price may not reach the consumer, while its disadvantages always do. The decline in prices, which

hurts the producing laborer, may not reach the consuming laborer at all. The latter has seldom any knowledge of the markets, or if he has, he has not the expert knowledge of kinds and qualities of goods which will enable him to protect himself from the tricks of trade The advantage gets itself divided up among transporters, brokers, commission merchants, wholesale merchants, jobbers, and retail dealers—all skilled in the art of buying cheap and selling dear, and the loss of the producing laborer is pretty much all their gain.

Competition among these experts is very much of a sham, and it is especially the case that it becomes less potent as small traders are multiplied. Increase in the number of saloons does not improve the quality or diminish the price of beer. In a community where the farmers deal directly with the villagers, the opening of a dozen huckster-shops intercepts the farmers' supplies, and makes vegetables more costly. If ten traders are doing a good business in a town, the opening of five more stores does not cheapen goods to purchasers. The traders must be supported by their trade; and combination is so much more profitable than

competition that the equalizing law of Dr. Smith is not allowed to assert itself in any largely beneficent way. Associating himself strongly with his fellows to fight the capitalist employer, who is his natural ally, the laborer encounters without organization or assistance or intelligence a horde of other capitalists who are his natural enemies.

We do not put this case too strongly. The heaviest tax that everybody pays is the tax to trade, and it increases in weight in proportion to the inability to bear it. The indispensable service of the transportation of commodities, their storage, and division, might and should be performed with the least possible friction and at very small cost, but it is performed with the greatest possible friction and at the highest possible cost.

Of transportation and its instruments—roads, engines, cars, ships, etc.,—we shall treat hereafter. It is a difficult subject, bristling with problems for the student; and not to be pronounced upon off-hand by reformers, or rashly acted upon by legislators. Its burdens can be alleviated by bringing the producers and consumers together, which is effected when the factory is erected near to the farm, and the farmer and workman

make their exchanges directly with each other. The impediments to this are great and often insurmountable, and it is to the interest of traders that this should continue to be so. Their theory is that the American laborer who produces cotton should give it to them to be carried to England and manufactured into cloth; that the American laborer who produces corn should give it to them to carry to England, where they will trade it for cloth, which they will bring back for the use of the American producers of cotton and corn. This would employ an infinite number of cars and wagons and ships, and a multitude of bankers, brokers, agents, commission merchants, wholesale and retail dealers, clerks and servants, who add nothing whatever to the product of cotton, or cloth or corn. The advocates of this system never weary of showing how it is a benefit to everybody, by cheapening commodities—a claim which is false in any other respect than the temporary cheapness that checks production and consumption; and we have seen that cheapness does not mean plenty—that plenty exists only where there is the power to consume and use the necessaries and comforts of life.

In the field of real wages the isolated laborer is helpless. He has the right to invoke the aid of his government, and he has the power of accomplishing much of good through association with his fellows. Government has the power and it is its duty to regulate international trade by protective and prohibitory duties. It has the power and it is its duty to regulate internal trade, the only question being what is best and wisest to do. It has plenary power over money, which is the principal instrument of commerce. In these broad matters the laborer—the wage-earner has no several interest from that of the community. It is as a citizen, acting with other citizens, that he can secure the best service at the smallest cost, by giving the powers of government to those who will administer them with intelligence and honesty.

REAL WAGES—SHARING TRADE PROFITS.

The assumption that trade is naturally and necessarily self-regulating in accordance with the best interests of the community has generally passed without question. A manufacturer may become odious through success, but no one criticizes the righteousness or legitimacy of the shop-keeper's profits. The founder of a manufacturing business which employed a large number of skilled workingmen, all of whom are well off, died the other day, leaving an estate of a million dollars. He was denounced in the free-trade press as a monopolist and a public robber, because under the beneficent protection of the tariff laws, in an industry open to every American citizen, he had made a fortune by improving the quality and reducing the price of an article of prime necessity, of which England had enjoyed a trade monopoly for many years. Of the great fortunes acquired in trading in this very article there is never a question.

The manufacturers of the country are just now subjected to an inquisitorial visitation of the United States Treasury Department, and are required to disclose the cost of their goods, and the cost of every stage of the processes they conduct, the purpose being to use the information in modifying the tariff so that importers and traders may have a larger traffic. There seems to be no end to the power and influence of traders, and no possible escape from the necessity of contributing to their opulence. The system under which the community obtains its daily supplies of food, clothing, etc., is as costly and wasteful as it can be made, but everybody is too busy, or too lazy, or too unintelligent to devise something better.

Here, for instance, is the way the working-woman in a cotton factory in the town of A—— gets any of the dress goods she has made, the whole product of the factory being "handled" by one great commission house in the city of B. The working-woman pays

1. Expressage 300 miles to B.
2. Commission on sale to wholesale merchant at B.
3. Profit on sale by merchant to shopkeeper in town of A.

4. Freight and charges 300 miles from B. to A.

5. Profit of shop-keeper on dress goods sold to the working-woman.

Will anybody pretend that this is the best system that could be devised, or that it is anything but a needless and burdensome tax upon the producer and the consumer? The employer of labor and the laborer have a common interest in eliminating the trader, and it is time that an effort in this direction should be made. The evil is a constantly growing one; its ordinary burdens are enormous, and instances of intolerable hardship endured by the least intelligent and very poor may easily be found.

The wants of a community of five thousand workingmen, or say a population of twenty-five thousand souls, are with respect to their subsistence nearly uniform, and their consumption of the necessaries of life are nearly equal and regular. They want from day to day nearly the same things in nearly equal quantities. They are supplied by three hundred retail dealers in food, drink and clothing, each of whom pays rent, employs assistants, who with himself during half the time are idle, and buys from time to time

his little lot of goods from the commission merchant or jobber, getting it by rail and wagon at the expensive rates charged upon small shipments, and with a multiplied risk of depreciation, spoil and loss—all of which the customer must bear. It is not an extravagant estimate to place the tax upon the community for the support of those retail dealers in the common necessaries of life at half a million of dollars annually. If this tax could be dispensed with it would be equivalent to a permanent increase of twenty per centum in wages.

The greater part of this tax would be abolished by employing a single mercantile agency for the community, under the management of the community, and at the cost of merely necessary expenses. Not only the profit of the retail dealer, but one and often two other profits would be eliminated, wholly or in part, by purchases made directly from the producer, allowing him also a share of the trader's profits and resulting economies. The difficulties in the way of effecting such an association are not necessarily insurmountable, and a beginning may be made when the workingman is disabused of the idea that the employer of labor is his

natural enemy, and that the trader is his best friend.

The substitution of the commercial in place of the trading state cannot be effected at once, but must be gradually evolved from present conditions. It will require a certain training, the habit of association and of confidence in it, commercial honor, and the employment of capital and credit. It may probably be best for workingmen not to make the initial experiments alone and at their own risk, as the instances of success in commercial coöperation are few as compared with the failures. The natural order of progress in the productive industries would appear to be, first, the regulation of wages by a scale, next, profit-sharing, and finally, coöperation. It will be well to commence commercial coöperation with profit-sharing, which will induce confidence and the habit of association, and gradually educate men up to coöperation pure and simple. The natural ally of the laborer in this, as in every other matter pertaining to his welfare, is his employer; and here and there instances may be found of employers and laborers who have understood this, and have acted upon it to their mutual advantage.

The truck system, as it is called in England, known as the company store system in the United States, is generally unpopular, and the cause of a great deal of heart-burning and ugliness of spirit. Workingmen are easily made to believe that they are systematically robbed at the employer's store, and their dissatisfaction causes a chronic controversy in the state legislatures, where it takes the form of acts to enable laborers to repudiate their contracts, and practically render themselves unworthy of credit—legislation which cannot be sustained by the courts if constitutional provisions are respected.

It is unfortunately true that in many cases the family of the laborer will be better off, if the wife spends the wages for goods, than if they should be paid to the man "in lawful money." This consideration has little weight, for trade is not conducted on philanthropic principles, but for profit; and the charity, if it is one, perpetuates the necessity for it.

It is of no weight in the argument to point to particular instances where the employer's store is a real benefit to the workingman by giving him goods of good quality at fair prices, with full weights and meas-

ures and honest accounts, dealing with his child in the same way that it would with himself; for where there is one such instance there may be a dozen others conducted upon the "pluck me" principle, and the evil remains that the laborer readily believes that he is robbed, whether he is or not; and opportunity is given to the small political demagogue, who is elected to the legislature, to inflame the workingman's sense of his wrongs, and lead him off on a wild-goose-chase after illegal, unconstitutional and impossible remedies.

The controversy seems to be endless. It tends to alienate employers and workingmen, and to give more power to trade and less worth to real wages. Instead of endeavoring to suppress the traffic, it would be better to legalize it under the supervision of the State, upon conditions that would insure the best service to the laborer and also a participation in the profits. After persistent and exhaustive efforts to go in one direction, and finding no thoroughfare, it may be well to turn about and go the other way.

A bill introduced into the Pennsylvania legislature at its last session,* but not acted

* By Mr. Sponsler.

on for want of time, suggests this change of front; and, without committing ourselves to its details, we regard it as fairly suggesting a new departure in state policy which deserves favorable consideration, and therefore quote it as follows:

AN ACT to authorize and regulate the keeping of coöperative stores, and to allow the payment of wages of labor in goods, wares and merchandise furnished by coöperative stores.

Be it enacted, etc. SECTION 1. Employers of labor engaged in manufacturing or mining operations, workingmen engaged therein, or other persons, may carry on coöperative stores, and may supply goods, wares and merchandise to workingmen employed by them or others, on account of, and in payment of the wages of labor of workingmen dealing at such stores; *Provided*, That such mercantile business shall be conducted as follows:

SEC. 2. Any person, firm, corporation or association, desiring to have and use the privileges conferred by this act shall file in the office of the Secretary of Internal Affairs a declaration setting forth the places in which such business is to be carried on, the name or names of the owners thereof and the name in which the business is to be conducted, and an agreement duly adopted and made a part of the articles of copartnership, corporation or association, to comply with the provisions of this act, which statement shall be verified by the oath or affirmation of the owner, or of the principal officer of the corporation or association making such statement.

SEC. 3. An account shall be taken semi-annually of

such mercantile business conducted during every six months prior to the first days of January and July in which shall be clearly set forth:

1st. The amount of gross sales of merchandise.

2d. The amount of gross profits made.

3d. The amount of losses and bad debts.

4th. The amounts severally paid for rents, salaries, freights and other necessary expenses.

5th. The amount of net profits.

A copy of said accounts shall be verified by the oaths or affirmations of the owner, the principal book-keeper and the store-keeper or manager of such mercantile business or any two of them, and shall be posted in a public place in every store or building in which such mercantile business is carried on.

SEC. 4. When the owner of such mercantile business is the owner of the buildings or property in which such mercantile business is carried on, the charge against such business for rent shall not exceed six per centum upon the cost or value of the property occupied and used in carrying on such business.

SEC. 5. No wages or salary shall be charged against such business except for services actually rendered in carrying on the same.

SEC. 6. The net profits gained in such mercantile business shall be divided and distributed as follows:

1st. The owner shall retain out of said profits not more than three per centum upon the gross sales of merchandise.

2d. Of the remainder of such net profits the owner shall retain not more than one half, and the residue shall be distributed to and among all purchasers of merchandise to the amount of five dollars or more during the period for which such account is stated, in a uniform percentage upon the amount of such purchases. Pay-

ment of such distributive shares may be made in cash or in merchandise, as the parties entitled to the same may elect, and all dividends which shall be unclaimed for a period of six months shall be added to the net profits of the next six months' business and distributed as profits thereon, and such distribution shall forever bar any claim of a prior distributee of such share or shares.

SEC. 7. The copy of accounts provided for in section three shall be prepared and posted within thirty days after the close of the six months business as aforesaid, and payment of distributive shares shall be due fifteen days thereafter.

SEC. 8. Within sixty days after the close of six months business as aforesaid, a report shall be filed in the office of the Secretary of Internal Affairs, setting forth the facts following :

1st. The name of the owner of such mercantile business and the places in which it is carried on.

2d. The amount of gross sales of merchandise.

3d. The amount of gross profits made.

4th. The amounts severally paid out for rents, salaries, wages, freights and other necessary expenses.

5th. The amount of net profits.

6th. The amount of net profits retained by the owner and the amount distributed to purchasers.

SEC. 9. Said report shall state the number of salaried employés, and the number of workingmen receiving dividends, and if the owner of such mercantile business is the owner of the buildings or property in which it is carried on the cost or the value thereof shall be stated.

SEC. 10. Said report shall be verified by the oaths or affirmations of the owner, the store-keeper or manager and the principal book-keeper, or any two of them, and any person making a false and fraudulent statement under oath or affirmation required by this act shall be

visited with the pains and penalties of perjury, and any owner who shall willfully neglect for a period of thirty days to post an account or make a report or statement required by this Act, or who shall knowingly insert or allow to be inserted, any false and fraudulent statement therein, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction shall pay a fine of not more than one thousand dollars and undergo an imprisonment of not more than six months, both or either at the discretion of the court.

SEC. 11. All payments of wages made in goods, wares or merchandise supplied to workingmen dealing with coöperative stores conducted in accordance with this Act, upon the order of their employer or otherwise, shall be good and valid, and all laws and parts of laws regulating the payment of the wages of labor, in so far as they are inconsistent with the provisions of this Act, are hereby repealed.

To understand this measure it is necessary to know that Pennsylvania, like other states, has a law prohibiting the payment of wages in anything but lawful money; and, unless an order or assignment has been given, where payment has been made in rent or fuel or goods, the workman may repudiate it, and collect the full amount of his wages by law. This is a premium upon dishonesty which few working men have cared to earn.

The foregoing scheme has the usual features of such legislation, in creating new crimes and affixing severe penalties, but it was probably supposed that without these

it could not become a law. While it has the direct purpose of legitimating the payment of wages in goods, upon the basis of a participation in profits, there is nothing to prevent workingmen from organizing under it and obtaining all the profits themselves. Both systems are open, but we believe that the best beginning will be under the management of the employers of labor, who will have an advantage of capital and skill and credit, and that partnership of the workingmen in the business will be profitable and lead to further advantages unaccompanied by risks, until men shall be educated up to the capability of taking sole conduct of the business. If a beginning can only be made in repealing the tax of the retail trade, we shall finally be rid of it altogether.

The money which the workingman receives as wages, or the nominal rate of his compensation, is worth to him only what it will bring. He has had his mind fixed too much upon the dollars and cents, and too little upon what he would and could do with them. In this respect he is often ignorant and frequently helpless, and the most intelligent man is powerless and can effect nothing without association with his fellows. The

"labor reform" which is feasible, which would be permanent, and alike potent in bad times and in good times, and under high and low wages, is to give more worth to real wages by eliminating the trader, who has been aptly called "the tape-worm of the community."

REAL WAGES—INSTRUMENTS OF COMMERCE.

The free and rapid exchange of various and complementary thoughts and things is essential to industrial and social progress. This true commerce is a motive to, and the object of, all industrial action; and it becomes more profitable as the instruments are improved and simplified, and as its machinery can be dispensed with by the closer association of the producer and the consumer who is also a producer, of man with man, in a highly organized and perfected community. Progress in this direction is a result of the conquest of nature through the development of science, which has enabled man to advance from the ruder forces to the more subtle and effective powers, from those which cost much and do little labor, to those which cost little and do much labor, from the muscular power of man and animals, to wind and steam and electricity. With this improvement in the instruments of association, and consequent improvement in society, com-

merce is able to employ, in a constantly increasing proportion, forces that are purely metaphysical, as confidence, honor and credit, which are more potent in producing plenty than all other powers used by man.

As an instrument of commerce coin is more costly and less efficient than paper, and infinitely more efficient still are the various forms of credit. Money is a motor, and this country wisely chooses the kind that is least costly and most efficient, instead of adopting the stupid theories of the free-trade school of finance, which insists upon our using the motor which is most costly and least efficient. Coin is their fetich, and, as gold happens now to be more costly than silver, they predict horrible things for us if we do not use gold exclusively. They would have a silver craze instead of a gold craze, if silver were now more costly than gold, as it has been in the past. As an instrument of commerce, coin has such relation to paper, as the ox-cart has to the railway car. "Your railway cars are very well," say the bullionists, "but you must limit their issue, and above all things you must be careful to have in reserve their exact equivalent in carts."

The first steps in the substitution of new

instruments of commerce for the old, and in the control of new powers for its service, are the most difficult. The man who predicted that a turnpike road would be made over the Alleghany mountains was regarded as insane by his neighbors. From the pack-horse to the Conestoga wagon was a long step, but how trivial as compared with the stride to the steam car!

In mental commerce the exchange of information and ideas, the communication of wishes and news, the messenger who could only be used by the rich and great was supplanted by the government post employing animal and steam power; and the march of improvement culminated in the use of the most rapid and imponderable force in nature in the telegraph and telephone. Time and space are no longer impediments to the commerce in ideas.

Every advance in this control of the powers of nature achieved by science, has been a benefit to the laborer, and has added to his real wages. The instruments of commerce—money and the means of communication and transportation—have been so improved that they are capable of the highest service, but it is questioned whether their management

is such as to render the best service, or even adequate service to the community. Upon this subject popular notions are mainly wrong, and this is unfortunate, as very grave matters may be decided at any time by a popular vote, and probably in the wrong way.

The Greenback party combines elements of the practical, grotesque, and pathetic. We probably owe to it the inestimable benefit of the preservation of the legal tender currency, and there is sufficient reason for its existence as long as the bullionists, who are equally grotesque and much more dangerous, continue to be formidable.

The Greenback party was right in defending the legal tender currency; it is wrong in assailing the national banking system, in which there is now perfect freedom and no taint of monopoly. The objection to the national banking system that it is unduly profitable is no longer valid. It is not profitable enough to preclude the growth of private banking, which has its peculiar attractions. The restrictions upon the management of the national banks, all of which are wise, and the governmental inspection to which they are subjected, are obnoxious to the financial speculators who obtain the

money of the credulous, by hiring a room and putting up the word "Bank" in big gilt letters over the door.

Banks are indispensable agencies of commerce, and as a choice between national banks under the present system, state banks under any system, and private banks, the national banks should be unhesitatingly preferred. It is supposed by the advocates of an exclusive legal tender currency, that if the national banking system is suffered to expire, of which there is danger, or if it is abolished as they propose, private banks of discount and deposit, or state banks, will continue the business with a greenback currency. They should not deceive themselves State banks will be banks of issue, and the government notes will have to go. We shall have the old vicious system back upon us with redoubled strength, the character of the currency will depend upon the jobbing that can be effectively employed in the legislatures of thirty-eight states; and no man can safely take a note without searching through an old-fashioned counterfeit detector, swollen to the dimensions of Webster's dictionary, to find if it is genuine or not, or if the bank is broken, or what the discount upon its circu-

lating notes may be. One of the heaviest taxes upon the people in the days before the war was the cost of converting uncurrent money into bankable funds. As an instrument of commerce this old system is comparable to a line of transportation which requires change of cars and trans-shipment of freight at the end of every hundred miles. There would be plenty of profit in it for bankers and brokers, all of which would be a tax upon workingmen, reducing by so much their real wages. The crusade against the national banks on the part of workingmen's associations is a mistake, for this system and the legal tender currency will most certainly go down together. It is simply absurd to suppose that state banks will not be banks of issue.

Why do not workingmen engage in banking under the national banking laws? There is nothing to prevent it, they have ample means for the purpose; and there are instances of a waste of wages, in an ill-advised and unsuccessful strike, which would have founded more than one bank. They need a wise leader to do for them what Herman Schultze has done for the workingmen of Germany; but they will not find him among their pro-

fessional friends, the small politician, the saloonkeeper, and the retail dealer, nor is he likely to be developed from the leadership of trade and labor unions.

The railroad question deserves more extended discussion than can be given to it here. The efforts to regulate carrying companies by law has a large history in this country, and a larger history abroad. There are states in which controversy is at an end, there are others in which the agitation is at its height; and good, ignorant men in state legislatures are busy devising impossible remedies for imaginary wrongs, while political conventions resolve in favor of measures which experiments have shown to be useless or injurious. A legislative device, fully tried and finally discarded years ago, is taken up with zeal by reformers who are ignorant of current facts, and know nothing of history; and the simply good people will tolerate no opposition to it, though they do not pretend to understand it, for the simply good people will accept almost anything in the name of reform.

Certain conclusions, drawn from a patient and disinterested study of the whole subject, may be stated, leaving the student to look

up the facts, which are so easily accessible that ignorance of them, especially upon the part of political leaders and legislators, is disgraceful.

State operation of railroads is a failure. It has been tried in Europe in various forms, and it has neither improved the service nor reduced the cost. The state of Pennsylvania had experience in the matter, of which there is no history, simply for the reason that anybody acquainted with the facts, or some part of the flagrancy of her railroad management, must have been *particeps criminis*, and would not dare to tell what he knows.

The fixing of inflexible and uniform rates of freight by law has been fully tried, and necessarily abandoned. It is a stupidity for the recurrence of which there is no excuse.

The establishment of maximum rates of freight has little utility, as experience shows that they are soon left standing out like a highwater mark on a receding stream.

The railroad system of the United States, taken as a whole, is the best in the world. It performs the largest service at the least cost, and improvement in this respect has not been owing to legal control, and has

been greatest where there has been least interference on the part of the state.

The carriage of freight has been cheapened faster and farther in this country than elsewhere. It has been nearly uniformly progressive year by year for the last fifteen years, and has been concurrent with great improvement in the service rendered. Rates for the entire traffic are nearly one-half less than they were fifteen years ago; and there cannot be further reduction, because the charges are and have been too low to keep the business alive and solvent. The situation is most injurious to the general business interests of the country; and legislation should be invoked, not for the further destruction, but for the protection of railroad property.

Applied to the commerce of the whole country, the reduction in freight rates is an enormous economy, and it is a question who has reaped most advantage from it. The question has been partially explored by Edward Atkinson in his admirable paper upon "The Railway, the Farmer and the Public," published in *The Manufacturer's Gazette*, and we use his facts for the purpose of dissenting in part from his conclusions. We take his annual average prices in gold in the

New York market from 1869 to 1883, inclusive, of eight staple articles—flour, grain, meat, butter, wool, etc.—of the quantity of thirteen tons in all, and the charges during the same period for hauling this amount and kind of freight a distance of a thousand miles. The following table shows the prices and average price, the freight charge at the opening and close of the period and the average rate and reduction in freight.

Thirteen tons of mixed western products.

	Price in N. Y.	Freight per ton per mile.	Reduction.
1869	662 68	1.78 cents	
1883	662 11	.91 cents	49 per cent
Av. of 15 years.	685 00	1.13 cents	36 per cent

Mr. Atkinson's conclusion that the people have no good ground for complaint against the railroads is just. If the reduction of forty-nine per centum in the cost of carriage of commodities is applied to the entire freight traffic of the railroads at the present time, the result is so enormous as to be bewildering.

We agree with Mr. Atkinson that it is an unparalleled economy, but his assumption that the farmers reaped the benefit of it is not satisfactory. Taking the New York prices as a guide, the consumers did not get

the benefit, but it does not follow that it went to the farmer in the West.

It has been observed that a reduction of ten per centum in freight rates upon traffic from the Northwest never reaches the consumer, but is lost and absorbed by the way. How much of the large average saving during the foregoing period of fifteen years may have had a like history is worthy of inquiry. How much of it has gone to build up Chicago and other cities with their elevators, stock-yards, boards of trade, dealers and brokers? If some wizard with a magical wand could transform into their original elements, all the business blocks, town houses, and country seats, along the great trunk lines between the western grain fields and New York city, which have been built out of this traffic and are sustained by it, what mountains of grain and meat and provisions would affront the sky. The efforts of a multitude of traders, skilled in the art of buying cheap and selling dear, buying cheap from the producer and selling dear to the consumer, have clearly not benefited the consumer, that the producer has been largely benefited by their exertions we shall regard as doubtful until there is some proof of it.

Generally and broadly the railroads have rendered admirable service, at nearly the lowest possible rates, because they could not help it. The competition of the markets has been effective where there was not competition with each other; and these great investments have been subject to the law prevailing in all progressive communities under which capital constantly declines in value and increases in utility. The march of invention and improvement is a perpetual and irresistible confiscation of the value of the labors of the past, and a proportional increment of power in the labor of the present and of worth in its real wages.

The vices of railroad management are individual and local, and they may be cured by such legislation as has been reached after painful and costly experiments in some of the states. Kansas may be cited as an example of perfect accord between railroad management and the people, effected by an intelligent board of state railroad commissioners, which investigates all complaints, and renders impartial decisions, which it has no power to enforce, but which are always respected. To this extent legislation should be regarded as indispensable; beyond this it

becomes an impediment to commerce, and, as experience has shown, defeats its own avowed ends. Hostility to railroads belongs to that degree of culture attained by the tribe of famishing savages, referred to in a former chapter, who have not compassed the use of boats, and do all their fishing from the shore.

COÖPERATION.

Discussion of the subject of wages leads to the conclusion that the division of productive forces into capitalist employers on the one side, and mere receivers of wages on the other, is not the best, nor a final organization of industry. It tends to place the relations of employers and employed upon a purely commercial basis, and to induce the idea that labor itself is a commodity which may be profitably purchased as cheaply as possible. There is the difference between a man and a machine, that in the man, the will is the motive power; and there is hardly a case in which human forces purely are employed, that good will would not mean an increase of productiveness. It is not altogether lacking now, but might be made more general and more potent. There is the broader consideration that there is the most intimate connection between good times and generally profitable business, and the consuming power of workingmen. Reductions in wages are a commercial necessity when

competition is unlimited, and they tend to intensify and prolong panics and periods of business depression. If foreign competition could be barred out, such depression might be instantly checked by a general advance in the wages of workingmen, an experiment that has never been tried because employers are not all willing to do it, and many of them are not able to do it. They depend upon the market from day to day; their necessities and fears infect each other; and the whole body of society becomes subject to a purely mental disease, which manifests itself in industrial stagnation or paralysis. Nobody is to blame for this because everybody is to blame; and during such periods there are immense losses of capital, employers are ruined, and workingmen are the worst sufferers.

Looking a long way into the future we can see that the commercial and competitive organization of industry must be a failure, and there should be wise and timely efforts to place it on a better basis. That coöperation must be the ultimate issue of industrial strife is evident to every thoughtful student of the relations of capital and labor, and we believe it will come whenever men want it

and are fitted for it. It presupposes conditions which do not now exist—mutual confidence, respect for social order and for the rights of others and a desire for their welfare, and a settled and stable community. Men must begin to be neighbors before they can be partners, and their being partners will make them better neighbors.

Success in mercantile coöperation argues nothing for the chances of success in industrial coöperation. The former has its market provided for it, the latter has a dependence upon "the market of the world," from which it must get all its rewards, and there are other difficulties which should be fully recognized.

In the simpler sort of manufacturing enterprises, in which the labor is nearly all of one degree of skill, and when the product is easily disposed of, coöperative experiments have been successful, but in attempting such business upon a large scale, workingmen would soon discover that what they have regarded as the profits of capital are really wages of superintendence, and that they are just as fairly earned as any other wages of labor. The skill that organizes and manages processes, and markets the product, watching

and suiting the market, and taking the risk of, and preventing loss upon the commercial side of the business, is as necessary to wages as to profits, and without it there would be neither wages nor profits.

The history of almost every important industrial establishment in this country shows its rise from a feeble origin to present greatness. Its beginning may have involved no larger control of moneyed capital than any group of skilled workmen could readily compass, but the one essential thing has been the mind of one man—the founder, and one or more successors trained under him. He contributed the faculty of organization and control, the economy, energy and business sagacity, that made the enterprise a success. The reward he received may have been large, but it was not more than the fruit of his toil.

It may be said that the conditions of business are so greatly changed that such growth of an industry from a seed is no longer possible, and to a certain extent this is true, but it is true only of these processes which require a very large outlay of capital to make a beginning in them. As to these industries, coöperation in any form must

originate in agreements between employers and workingmen.

There may be less reluctance on the part of employers to make such partnership arrangements than is supposed; the difficulties are real, and are entitled to respectful consideration. The proper basis for profit-sharing is not easily found, if it is to be established as a right and not merely allowed as a gratuity. If the risk is not to be all on one side a contingent or guaranty fund must be accumulated. Provision must be made for keeping the invested capital unimpaired, and in some of the large primary processes in metallurgy this will require an outlay of not less than ten per centum per annum upon the amount of the investment. Upon these and other matters of like nature it would be necessary to have the assent of all the parties in interest, and there is a reluctance to giving a voice in the business management, to a large number of partners who may not be business men.

These difficulties will all be overcome, but not easily or soon; and it is not well to mislead men by making them believe that there is just at hand an industrial paradise that they may enter at once; that they have

but to open the door, and that this would be easy if they could only put out of the way some evil minded guardian who bars the free approach. All the rewards of industry must come out of the product, and eventually from the market, under conditions of competition always trying, which it is proposed to make incalculable and universal through freedom of trade. Under such circumstances if participation in profits should be coupled with participation in losses, the risk would outweigh the advantages.

There is a notable instance of successful industrial coöperation, in the organization of industry at the iron works of Godin & Co., at Guise in France. M. Godin conceived the idea of erecting what he justly calls a social palace, as a dwelling for his workmen, and it proved to be a good investment for his capital, while it made his employés practically a single family. They are as well lodged as they could desire, in a building especially planned for the purpose, supplied with every requisite of health and comfort, and with the means of social amusements and enjoyments. They easily support nurseries and schools, and make

provision for medical attention and care in sickness, and the economies of their wholesome mode of living enables them to accumulate capital, which they are investing in the business under a scheme which provides for the repairs of plant, pays fair wages of management, and makes such dividends to capital and labor that the workmen are gradually acquiring ownership of the property.

M. Godin enjoyed the personal disfavor of the late Napoleon III., and survived it to attain a more worthy and lasting distinction than his imperial enemy; but one wonders in reading of his achievements, if the social elements which made his success possible could be found anywhere except in France. The French have a genius for organization and society; they are loyal to intelligent leadership, they are attached to place and are home-keeping, and they understand all the small economies of life, and are not ashamed to practice them. The hoarding instinct is strong in them, and the accumulations of capital by French working people have at times been very serviceable to their country.

Profit-sharing as a gratuity has been suc-

cessful in Parisian industries, and it has been tried to some extent in England; but we know of no important experiments with it in this country. Mining would seem to be very well suited to it. as it is a simple process, and has always a single product, and especially as experiments with competitive cheap labor have had most unsatisfactory results.

The opportunity for giving profit-sharing legal status, and a wide and beneficent sphere of action, has been lost through lack of foresight, as it might have been easily introduced through the laws authorizing the organization of corporations. Such a provision, if wisely framed, would have been generally accepted, especially if coupled with exemption from taxation, which has been unduly burdensome, and under its operation the industrial world would have presented an aspect widely different from what we see today. This easy way is now closed, and we are left to the voluntary efforts of employers and workingmen which may be looked for as intelligence advances, and when selfishness and lawlessness are replaced by respect for the rights of others and a desire for their welfare.

It is usual to propose such reörganization of industry as we have discussed, as a remedy for some wrong done to labor. This is a narrow and false view of the matter; and the true ground upon which the argument for it must rest, is that it will increase the productiveness of labor. Of this we have no doubt, and it alone must be depended upon to insure success. To make labor attractive by giving every laborer an interest in the general result, must induce better effort, greater economy and rapidity of production, and more wealth for all.

FLUIDITY OF LABOR EXAMINED.

The theory of the beneficence of universal competition cannot be maintained without the assumption that human labor has a certain fluid quality which it does not possess. It is pent in by natural and artificial barriers, which are impassable, or can only be overcome by enormous suffering and loss. It is alleged that the system under which one-fourth of the mass of American working-people find employment is non-natural; that their sole defense in the international trade combat in which they are engaged, the tariff wall, should be removed; and that no harm would be done to them or to the country if their productive industries should be obliterated by an overwhelming invasion of foreign commodities. The country would not lose their labor, for it would be employed in other industries, which are necessarily more profitable because they do not require artificial means of support. This assumption is vital, and we are surprised that it has so long passed without serious

question.* The fluidity of commodities, always great, has been enormously increased by improvements in transportation, and free trade in them can exert an irresistible leveling and often destructive force. It is absolutely necessary to the theory of its beneficence under all circumstances that there should be a corresponding fluidity of labor, or, otherwise, the benefit to a few resulting from the comparatively slight cheapening of commodities needed to exercise a destructive power, must be greatly outweighed by the compulsory idleness of large numbers of our own people. We are told that nothing of this kind can occur; that in accordance with a natural and irresistible law, labor will flow into other and more profitable channels, the laborer will find a new and better place for his efforts; there will be a gain to the workingmen and to the country. One of our free-trade professors says: "Persons go to the places which offer an arena for their talents. They do not sit still and say 'let us make an arena here.' As for the varied field for enterprise, the world opens that.

* This was written before Henry M. Hoyt published "Protection vs. Free Trade," in which this assumption is challenged after the fashion in which Ivanhoe summoned Brian de Bois Gilbert to the combat *a la outrance*.

and our enterprises seek the place of advantage." Adam Smith's observations led him to a different conclusion. Remarking that the price of common labor in London was eighteen pence a day, and that a few miles distant it fell to fourteen and fifteen pence, that ten pence was the price in Edinburgh, and that a few miles distant it fell to eight pence, and that this difference in price was not sufficient to transport a man from one parish to another, he says: "After all that has been said of the levity and inconstancy of human nature, it appears evidently from experience that a man is, of all sorts of luggage, the most difficult to be transported." Dr. Smith's illustration, though forcible, is comparatively weak, for it involves nothing but a change of place. The difficulty would be practically insurmountable if it involved change of occupation as well.

It might be sufficient to say that the other and more profitable industries, which could absorb an overflow of labor defeated by free trade, do not exist in this country—perhaps not anywhere; but if they did there would be no such overflow. There are barriers which the cosmopolitan college professor has overlooked in his world-wide views, barriers

in the nature of the industries and other barriers in human nature itself.

It will probably be asserted that the stream of immigration into the United States, and the flow of population within the country, shows all the mobility of labor that could be claimed, or that is required. If we could ascertain the amount of pressure brought to bear upon the mass of immigrants to move them from their homes, we would find it to be enormous, and that but a small percentage of the population enduring it have yielded to it. There are people who cannot be tempted or driven from their homes, as witness the French, of whom we have but few in this country. Ireland has contributed to us the largest number in proportion to her means, and the deportation of the Irish people is one of the darkest pages of history. If it is a natural and proper result of economic laws; who can make an estimate of its agonies and waste and loss to Ireland and the Irish? Entrance into "the varied field of enterprise which the world opens," has been purchased by the Irish at a price which we would not care to pay. When the choice is to go, or to stay and starve and die, some will go and others will stay and die.

The movement of population within a country argues nothing as to its mobility beyond the boundary lines, nor may it afford any evidence of the fluidity of labor in the sense in which it is claimed. Migration westward is but a transient phase of our national life, it is not profitable to encourage it, and it is not at all probable that it could have larger operation under any circumstances, as the moment it should become compulsory, it would be impossible.

Of the impediments to the transportation of "human luggage," the chief is its desire to stay and unwillingness to go. There is a certain fixedness of population that can be counted upon, and it does not depend upon either the pleasantness or the profit of its situation. The instinct of attachment to place is found in man as in the other animals. With the lower animals it determines their habitat, and it has a corresponding function in man. Some of the animals have this instinct so strong as to be irresistible, while in others it is almost non-existent, a difference which is seen in the domestic animals which frequent the house and which are nearest to man.

Man being the sum of the animals, as

well as something more, has the instinct of attachment to place; and taking men in the mass, this innate feeling is an element of patriotism and one of the foundations of nationality. It is weak in some men and strong in others, and peoples differ in this respect, as in other traits of character; there are nomadic races that lack this essential element in the making of a nation.

Love of country is not an intelligent comparison of the advantages and disadvantages of climate, soil and political institutions; it is not attachment to the person of the sovereign, or to constitutional principles, or the form of government; it is something much simpler and homelier. Those who feel it most are least likely to analyze it; it is simply love of place, that may be, and often is, inversely in proportion to the agreeableness or economic profitableness of its object. Men do not all seek the finest climate and richest soils; they cling to the barren and inhospitable region of their birth, and if driven from it they long to return to it; indeed, they sometimes pine and die in exile.

Man is attached to the soil as the animals are; not so absolutely, yet so generally as to give permanence to communities, and to per-

petuate original distributions of the human race. The community is itself a growth of the soil; it can hardly be said to exist where the inhabitants have not become rooted like its trees, and like them finding death in severance. How strong this attachment to place is in general, is inconceivable to the mentally deformed philosopher in whom it is naturally deficient, and it will have no place in a system evolved from his own consciousness. It is a dumb emotion, that is expressed here and there in a shred of song like that of the exile of Erin, like the lamentation of the captive Jews, "By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down, yea, we wept when we remembered Zion."

The assertion that men seek the arena for their talents or their labors is not true. They do not run about the globe to find their place, but in general it is made for them by their birth. There they prefer to remain, and it is a calamity that drives them forth from it. That industries may change their seat is true, and there may be corresponding changes in population, but such changes if radical and sudden must be accompanied by great misery.

If there is such a thing as a natural right,

it should be the right of a people to live in their own country. A governmental policy which makes this impossible is accursed of God and man.

The man of the soil, the natural man, is more wisely planned than the economic man. We prefer him as a neighbor and a citizen, and in fact we cannot do without him. The complacency with which the free traders offer this man the alternatives of starvation or exile, moves our indignation. His instinctive desire to stay is one of the elements of human nature heretofore overlooked. Among the many impediments to the fluidity of labor, this instinct deserves recognition, and it must be given a place in the science of Political Economy.

PRIVATE PROPERTY—CHATTELS.

The right of private property is implied in every proposition relating to work and wages. The first title to anything is labor expended upon it, or in obtaining it, and the laborer has a right to the entire fruit of his toil. His enjoyment of this title would be incomplete, often useless, if he could not confer it upon others. The producer of fish may exchange his surplus for game, and the fisherman and hunter thus mutually give title to each other. The things thus exchanged once may be exchanged again and again, until the source of the original title is lost, and inquiry respecting it would be fruitless. It is not necessary that there should be such inquiry, for common instinct and immemorial and universal custom give assent to the principle of municipal law, that possession of personal chattels is *prima facie* evidence of ownership. Whether the possessor of a chattel has a good title or not is no concern of mine. I cannot question it unless the thing has been wrongfully taken

from me. It is not mine, and if I take it from the possessor for my own use without his consent, it is theft, and if I use violence, it is robbery. No race of men has been discovered that did not have sense of this natural law, and it is found in the lower animals. They assert the rights of ownership, and exhibit signs of culpability when they have taken what does not belong to them.

The natural right of private property has certainly this extent, because instinctive recognition of it is a complete investure, it requires no evidence. Ownership of chattels which are not, and never have been, in possession, is a matter of title, and there is such right to them as is accorded by usage or municipal law. The title that in this case the state does give, must be respected by everybody, as this is an obligation of citizenship. What title the state should give is a matter of opinion; everybody has a right to discuss it; the question being, what is for the public good, for the public good is the supreme law.

The proposition to limit a man's possessions so that he shall not acquire more than a certain amount of property, is commonly discussed in Europe, and begins to be talked of

in this country, partly as as a result of the bad taste of a pseudo-economical writer, in denouncing by name certain American rich men. The limit fixed by a French socialistic society is an income of three hundred dollars a year; if a man has more than this, he is a capitalist, "away with him to the lamp-post."

To limit a man's labors or their proper rewards, is an invasion of natural rights, the line cannot be drawn anywhere; it is as absurd and useless to place it at a million dollars as at three hundred dollars, and it is not required or justified by any consideration of the public good, nor could it be enforced. If it were a debatable question we should say that the public good demanded that every man should have the right to possess all that through the free exercise of his faculties he is able to honestly acquire, this incentive to industry, thrift, and enterprises small and great, being absolutely necessary to draw out all his powers. The laborer in every legitimate field of operation and invention should have the entire fruit of his toil. This law of freedom is beneficent; and it will not be abrogated because a disreputable millionaire or two may have acquired wealth by practices which barely escape being criminal.

In stating the natural law of property we have not defined the principles of human nature from which it arises. The instinct to acquire, to hoard, is the basis of it, and that this propensity is innate will hardly be questioned. It is not a result of education or proportioned to necessities; its vagaries and diseases are illustrated in collections of useless things, and in the miser and kleptomaniac, and it has peculiar and striking manifestations in the lower animals. It is an anti-communal force the strength of which has not been gauged by the socialists.

With man the claim of mine implies the recognition of thine, not as a result of ratiocination but from an instinctive sense of justice. The balance is maintained safely in the mass of mankind by the strength of this superior sentiment; and if property had not this natural protection, it could never have acquired, nor would it now have, the safeguard of municipal law. In any conflict between a selfish propensity and a social sentiment, however men may act, they instinctively feel that the latter is of the higher authority; and upon this truth is based every effort, and every hope, for the improvement of society. Underlying usages, customs and

positive laws regulating rights of property, is this natural sense of justice, which, in the absence of legislation, will make a code of its own.

Our definition of the rights of property, reached thus directly and simply, is in accord with the conclusions of Mr. Mill, who says, "nothing is implied in property, but the right of each to his own faculties, to what he can produce by them, and to whatever he can get for them in a fair market, together with his right to give this to any other person if he chooses, and the right of that other to receive and enjoy it."

Going along with Mr. Mill thus far we must immediately part company, for he proceeds to say, "it follows, therefore, that although the right of bequest or gift after death forms part of the idea of private property, the right of inheritance as distinguished from bequest does not," and he argues that as children have no inherent right to the possessions of their ancestors, the property of intestates might, and should be, confiscated for public uses. We think he has missed the point that a natural right must be one of which there is full investure by natural recognition, the claimant being required to

show no title other than the naked possession, and that when we get beyond this the right is not natural but conventional, and a creature of custom or law. Disposition of property by will is artificial, and a matter of evidence to be made out in some form prescribed by law; it was seldom recognized in a primitive state of society, while succession by inheritance has been universally recognized; and to the extent that it makes rightful possession co-extensive with ownership, it is in accordance with natural law.

That Mr. Mill should discuss the rights of children only in this connection is curious. He does not mention the wife at all; and this makes it clear that he had in his mind only the conventional or legal title, and not "the idea of private property" or natural right. We have to do with the family of civilization, and not with that of those savages among whom the wife cannot own property because she is herself a chattel. Confiscation of the property of intestates is not such a simple matter when the rights of the wife are regarded. That the title to the property of the family of which the husband and the wife are in joint possession, and which consists of their joint earnings and savings,

should be in the man only, is a lingering remnant of the slavery of women. The emancipation of women proceeds but slowly; in many states she is the victim of various forms of injustice, and she is generally robbed under the operation of intestate laws. This is not intentional, for men are ignorant of the law of wills and inheritances; to make provision for the family is one of their strongest incentives to industry and thrift; but they have a vague idea that the law makes a good enough will, which is a great mistake.

The property of the family, consisting of the joint earnings and savings of the man and wife, acquired during marriage and being in their joint possession, should be recognized and defined as a conjugal estate, which upon the death of either should go to the survivor. At present this right of survivorship is in the husband, and it is in accordance with the natural law of property to give it also to the wife. Her control of it will be of more benefit to society than if, in accordance with Mr. Mills' theory, it should be confiscated by the state, and distributed to charities by an appropriation bill.

The principles of human nature in which

property in things originates, consist of a propensity common to man and to the other animals, as essentially a part of the animal and human nature as the instinct to take food, and of a sentiment, traces of which may be found in the animals, which is perfected in man.

The propensity to acquire, to hoard, necessarily implies an object and a wholesome use, but the magpie and the miser show that there is enjoyment in its exercise, irrespective of any useful object or end. This is in accordance with the general law that nature attaches pleasure to the exercise of any innate propensity which is necessary to the preservation of the race; and this propensity we hold to be clearly of such quality.

Neither men nor animals make hoards because they have reasoned it out and discovered that it is a wise provision for winter or old age, or a means of enjoyment, or for the public good. They do it because they have the instinct to do it; and it concerns the preservation and tends to the progress of society, that the means of subsistence, the acquisition of capital, and the necessary preparation for advancement in the arts and the endowment of charities, do not depend

wholly upon the forethought and intelligence of men, that back of forethought and intelligence, there is this common, instinctive, and irresistible force. It is well if the man who has no love of labor for its own sake shall have the love of gain, and desirable that the hoarding instinct, should be strong enough to keep the world supplied with the means of subsistence for its inhabitants, for at least a year, which is all it can do at present.

It will be observed that we have confined the natural right of property within somewhat narrow limits, in extending it only to things in the possession of the owner. By possession we do not mean what he has upon his person or can hold in his hands, but such possession as is consistent with enjoyment and control, in accordance with the nature of the property. There are artificial rights of property which have been created and may be abrogated by law.

The laws of inheritance have been generally invasions of natural rights; they have not been cleared from feudal customs, and some of the usages of slavery survive in them. They should be so molded as to do justice to women, and this being effected, limitation upon the power of bequest would

be necessary and proper. The division by distribution of estates is in accordance with natural law, and it is for the good of society.

Collateral inheritances are not supported by any natural or equitable right; and it might be well, if wise and honest administration of a fund derived from this source could be devised, to take a liberal percentage of such estates for the use of the community. It should not be given to the state or appropriated to charities. State charities on a large scale would be just as demoralizing now as they have been in the past, and they would probably end in imperial despotism.

There are many reforms in the laws which are desirable, such as the abolition of harsh and useless feudal principles of the common law in titles and inheritances; the supersedure of bands of predatory lawyers and petty magistrates by courts of conciliation, simple and speedy settlement of estates, abolition of trusts except to secure loans and for charitable uses, the granting to new corporations of all the powers possessed by any old one, thus destroying monopoly, recognition and encouragement of voluntary associations, and the protection of home labor against foreign competition. These are matters

which may be accomplished. As to private property; the thing that has been will be. It is a long history to recount the struggles through which this natural right, essentially a right of labor, secured the protection of equal laws. The theorists who would abolish it must overthrow civilization, which is reached and maintained by diversification of employments and inequality of rewards. They propose a brief saturnalia or a permanent descent to barbarism.

PROPERTY IN LAND.

There are a great many theories afloat in regard to property in land. It is held that it is all wrong and should be abolished, that the state should be the only land owner, that rents should be confiscated, that there should be a life interest only in the possessor, that the land should be taken from landlords and given to their tenants. The workingmen of America, many of whom are land owners, have been recently told what they never suspected, that their vices and misery which are taken for granted, were a result of the right of property in land, that it would be useless for them to be industrious or thrifty or temperate or virtuous, for they are necessarily ruined by rent, that rent robbed and degraded them, and that they must continue to descend to a meaner place with constantly increasing wretchedness, unless property in land is abolished, or what is suggested as an equivalent, unless rents are confiscated.

The instinct of acquisition—the desire to own and possess, has been directed to land

as an object with constant force; it has had much to do with political history, and has played a large part in the movement of populations and the constitution and admixture of races. History discloses the largest illustrations of various systems of land tenures in different forms of individual, communal, aristocratic and state ownership, so that nothing new can be suggested, and there are no untried experiments. Now as heretofore, the tiller of the soil has a burning desire to become the owner of the soil; a natural aspiration consistent with its best uses for the individual and for society.

Recognizing labor as the origin of the right of property, it is said by Mr. Mill and others, that there can be no natural right of property in land, because no man made the land. No man made the earth, but labor has been and is so mixed with it, that it gives a title which natural justice and public policy must respect. The pioneer who by the life long labors of himself and family has converted a portion of wilderness into a fertile farm, has a natural right to its ownership. It was a piece of earth, he has made it land.

There are no "original and indestructible

powers of fertility in the soil." As to all its productive properties land is made by labor. The earth is simply the raw material of a machine which man must fashion for use, and he must be perpetually re-making it. Agriculture is an endless struggle with nature, in which the original elements of fertility in the soil count for but little in helpfulness; they are more than counterbalanced by the adverse forces which go along with them—the numerous and formidable enemies which must be encountered in subduing the richest soils, a labor which is nowhere fully accomplished. The history of the conquest of land in the United States discloses the largest courage, the hardest toil, and such thrift and vigor as have been displayed in no other industry. The same qualities put forth in any other work would have won much larger wealth; and nobody needs to be in want of land, or of anything else, who possesses and will use them.

To talk about land as if it were a free gift of nature, which, like light and air, should belong to everybody and might be used by anybody, is nonsense. The cultivated land of the country has cost in labor, over and above its returns, more than it would sell

for, if the labor is rated upon the basis of wages in the other industries. The right of ownership of land in this country, has within our own observation and memory, its origin in labor expended upon the land, which gives as complete and just a title to it as there can be to anything. Some of the pioneers still live, and we are acquainted with their children. It is not as if we were obliged to explore the obscure records of past centuries for the source of titles which originated in, and were perpetuated by, the violation of natural rights, as is the case in other countries, for in our history the facts are of today and yesterday; and it is not necessary to justify the land tenures of England and Ireland, for they do not measure the rights of the American pioneer or first purchaser, and those who hold under him.

Tried by any test the title of the American farmer is a good one; and the man who has a good title cannot be said to have proper enjoyment of it, unless he can confer it upon others. Sale or exchange of lands is a necessary incident of ownership; and that mere possession should be a sufficient barrier against the trespasser, is consistent with natural justice and the peace of society.

The founders of the American commonwealth did not deem it possible that private property could be taken for private use, except as a crime punishable under the law; and they provided that private property should not be taken for public use without just compensation. This provision of the bill of rights was regarded as one of the essential safeguards of liberty.

We come to the same conclusion with respect to property in land as in other things, but there is the natural difference that individual ownership of land must be subject to public uses. Whenever an individual right and a social right are clearly in conflict, the former must give place; and as the question cannot be left to individual determination, it must be regulated by law.

Public uses have been declared with respect to roads, ferries, pipe-lines, waterworks, public schools and like matters, for which lands may be appropriated, paying to the owner just compensation, provided that there shall not be invasion of the homes of the living or the burial places of the dead. The question of private property in land, in this country, is practically limited to a discussion of public uses; it may be conceded

that these are not yet fully declared, and that it is within the power of legislators, under the supervision of the courts, to enlarge them without any invasion of natural rights, or violation of the organic laws. The theoretical reform of confiscation of private property in land is barred so effectively that it is unprofitable to discuss it.

State ownership of lands is no novelty. Except as to proprietary and colonial grants, all titles begin with a patent from a state or the national government; and experience has shown that such public ownership is justifiable only as a necessity; that under it lands can neither be cared for properly nor disposed of honestly.

There is nothing in the way of communal holding of lands; there is plenty of virgin soil on which the experiment can be tried, and if successful it will not be necessary to make it compulsory upon anybody.

It goes without saying that the man who wants land can get it; it is only the man who wants somebody else's land without paying for it, who has any grievance under the land system of the United States.

Limitation upon the amount of land which may be held by corporations is a matter of

public policy. Corporations have no natural rights; they have only such rights as are conferred upon them by law.

Limitation upon the amount of land which may be held by individuals has been often proposed and also tried, but never with effect; and it is not a question of great importance in this country, where the laws of inheritance may be generally trusted to dissipate estates in land, of which there are few of magnitude which are the result of individual enterprise and labor. There are many obtained through the incapacity of the national government to either wisely or honestly administer its trust as owner of vast bodies of public lands, which shows the impolicy of making the state or nation the universal landlord by confiscation of private rights. It is because of governmental ineptitude, or corruption, that the speculator has outrun the pioneer, and caused grievances which call for redress.

We are not moved by pictures of the misery of "the child born upon a planet which is fully occupied by others, and unable to find a spot on which it is not a trespasser," intended to teach us that every child has a natural right to the inheritance of land. The planet is not fully occupied,

far from it. The unjust appropriation and misuse of land in England and Ireland is not a picture of the earth; and if we suppose the child to be born upon an entirely uncultivated and unappropriated planet or island, how much better off would it be? Every child has an estate in the labors which have subdued the earth and made it fruitful, and replaced savage life by civilization, which is of incalculable value. The fact that a child inherits land or not, or anything or not, does not determine its happiness or usefulness, or the reverse. What benefit would it be to any child if every child inherited land? What would they do with it? Somebody must toil to make it fruitful, for land without labor is nothing. A proposition that every child should inherit a grand piano would be as sensible.

Agrarian agitation is not new. It is as old as the Roman commonwealth, in which the land question related solely to the public domain, and not to the right of private ownership. It was a contest between plebeian and patrician, somewhat like that between homesteaders and speculators in our western states and territories.

As to dividing all the lands among all the

people, it cannot be done; it is useless to propose it, and if it were possible it would be an immeasureable calamity—a single year would induce starvation, and persistence would lead to desolation. To make every man a farmer would insure a lack of food and certainly a lack of everything else. It is only in purely agricultural communities that famines have occurred during the present century, or are likely to occur in future. Agriculture, though the earliest of the arts, is the latest and the slowest in the march of improvement; and without alliance with the other arts, it would be incapable to-day of supplying the population of the earth with food. The other arts have done much for agriculture, yet their ministry to it is yet feeble and inefficient compared to what it will be in the future.

The United States has been a good country for poor men for many reasons, one of which has been the easiness with which ownership of land could be acquired, a condition which should be preserved as fully and as long as possible; but it has not been any considerable factor in enhancing the rate of wages in manufacturing industries. The wages of agricultural laborers, the

prices of food, and the value of land, are enhanced in proportion to the growth and contiguity of manufactures; and if we could conceive of this country without manufactures, we would have a state in which land and food and labor would have no market value.

The American workingman has a strong vantage ground which he can hold as long as he is protected against the destructive forces of free trade. Within a community or country where there is no interference from abroad, industries that are naturally dependent tend to equality in productiveness and rewards, and the prosperity of one is a benefit to the others and to society. Protection to home industry has built up American manufactures, and given large wages to workingmen; this in turn has developed and improved American agriculture, and has increased its rewards by giving it an enormously increased product, and the result has been plenty for everybody.

We refuse to recognize the tramp as a representative of labor, or as a result of private ownership of land, which it is said has robbed him of his inheritance and made him a wanderer upon the face of the earth. He

is a product of misguided benevolence, which feeds and clothes him, and gives him money and sustains his useless and generally villainous existence. If there is one unfortunate and deserving workingman to a thousand voluntary barbarians among these enemies of society, which we doubt, it is better that he should perish of starvation than that he should be saved from it at the cost of maintaining his degraded and dangerous associates. This is not a hard saying, for such an honest poor man could not lose his life more worthily, nor would his case differ from that of the soldier who falls upon the battle-field in the defense of his country.

Agriculture requires not only a special training, but also certain moral qualities in those who prosecute it successfully. Farming in America has a life of its own, and few succeed in it who have not been bred to it. Our farmers are a sturdy race, content with little society outside of the home, constant in the exercise of foresight and economy, satisfied with a moderate competence, and possessing a virtuous family life by being full of labor, and by the help of the simple religious faith which they generally profess,

which is the largest social element in their lives. To take the land from them and give it to the debased and vicious inhabitants of city slums is the latest theory of land reform, commended to American workingmen as an effectual and proper means of insuring progress without poverty.

NATURAL LAW OF POPULATION.

It is in accordance with our principles of political economy, that man should be successful in his struggle with nature, in the proportion that there is improvement of society. A virtuous family life, obedience to the laws, respect for religion, popular education and progress in the arts, improvements in medical and sanitary science, diversification and association of industries, and peace,—those things are the necessary conditions of success, or, in other words, of plenty. To our view the struggle of man with nature is not hopeless, nor is it useless; it is a necessary training of man and of the race, beneficently devised to develop talent and character, and to give infinite and beautiful variety and use to the lives and labors of mankind.

The science of English political economy, taught in American schools and colleges, takes little or no account of our way to wealth; and, indeed, it will show conclusively that our way is no thoroughfare; that in the strife of man with nature if he will have

virtue and health and peace as allies, he is doomed to defeat; that wealth thus obtained ends in want, and plenty thus secured ends in starvation; that without the vices of human nature and the evils of society the earth would refuse adequate sustenance to its inhabitants.

The Malthusian law of population in its relations to food, with its supplementary theory of the occupation of the soil, is the corner stone of English political economy.

Thomas Robert Malthus, an English clergyman, in his "Principles of Population," published about the beginning of this century, announced as a universal law, the constant tendency of the human race to increase beyond the means of subsistence, a principle which would be illustrated everywhere in the history of mankind were it not for the checks to the increase of population which are always and everywhere operative. The ultimate check of famine does not come in play to prove the theory, because wars and pestilence and the ignorance and the vices of mankind, destroy multitudes of human beings or shorten their lives, and maintain an equilibrium between mouths and food.

Under the best circumstances he held that

food can increase only in an arithmetical ratio, as 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, etc., while population increases in geometrical ratio as 1, 2, 4, 8, 16, 32, 64, 128, 256, etc.

Assuming therefore, that the population unchecked would double itself every twenty-five years, and taking the population of England at eleven millions, the results predicted at successive periods of twenty-five years were as follows:

		POPULATION.		
1st. period.	*2d period.*	*3d period.*	*4th period.*	*5th period.*
11,000,000.	22,000,000.	44,000,000.	88,000,000.	176,000,000
		FOOD.		
Enough food.	Food doubled.	Food for 33,000,000.	Food for 44,000,000.	Food for 55,000,000.

The check of famine would necessarily become operative in fifty years; and the progress of population at the normal rate could not continue for seventy-five years, at the end of which one-half of the race would be unprovided for.

Having announced the principle as self-evident, the author proceeded to the necessary task of accounting for its failure to assert itself, by making a survey of the globe, taking one country after another, and showing that checks to population were everywhere operative. No country had been

free from war, every country had been ravaged by disease, and everywhere he found the vices prevailing which enfeeble mankind and shorten his days upon the earth. His book, written in excellent English, a model for simplicity and purity of style, is a painful catalogue of the vices of civilization and the miseries of savage life. As he found the earth nowhere incapable of supplying its inhabitants with food, his theory of population was but a plausible assumption, needing the more scientific exposition, which it owes to another English writer. The doctrine of rent, of which David Ricardo is the accredited author, is based upon a theory of the occupation of the soil that is simple and apparently self-evident. The most productive lands are most desirable; and it is quite natural to suppose that in the settlement of a country they would be taken by the first comers. In the earliest stages of society, when men are few in numbers, the lands of best quality —having the highest fertility—will be first occupied; and it follows that as population increases resort must be had to lands of a less degree of fertility, and so on progressively to the poorer and still poorer soils—the whole land under cultivation yielding

constantly diminishing returns to the labor expended upon it.

Tabulating the assumed difference in productiveness between lands of the first quality producing, say fifty bushels to the acre, and lands of the second quality producing but forty, and so on downward, he demonstrated how rents naturally arose; and showed that the landlord's share is the whole difference of product of the land leased to his tenants and that of the poorest land under cultivation. This was an admirable vindication of the natural justice of the modern commercial character of English rents, and it was received with instant favor. It is evident also that it furnished what was lacking in the Malthusian theory of the relations of population to its means of support, by giving an apparently good reason for the assumption that increase of men must be attended by a decline in the supply of food; as there would necessarily be a place, either that fixed by Malthus or some other point, where unchecked increase of population must encounter the check of famine.

This doctrine of the dismal science was accepted, with some qualifications, by John Stuart Mill, who states it thus:

"After a certain and not very advanced stage in the progress of agriculture, as soon in fact as men have applied themselves to cultivation with any energy, and have brought to it any tolerable tools, from that time it is the law of production from the land, that in any given state of agricultural skill and knowledge, by increasing the labor the produce is not increased in an equal degree; doubling the labor does not double the produce. This general law of agricultural industry is the most important proposition in political economy. Were the law different nearly all the phenomena of the production and distribution of wealth would be other than it is."

This alleged law of the constantly declining productiveness of agriculture, supplements with diabolical ingenuity Ricardo's theory of the occupation of the soil. Man and nature are hopelessly at strife; the scheme of the universe is irremediably vicious; and the pitiableness of the situation of the race would be inadequately described as "between the devil and the deep sea."

It would have been more profitable to us, had Mr. Mill fixed the period, say in English history, when men began to cultivate with

energy and use tolerable tools. Would he go back to the Heptarchy, or did it come in with Alfred the Great, or William the Conqueror? If he had only settled this, we could comfortably trace the decline in the productiveness of the soil as increased labor has been expended upon it. If however we should find that there has been enormously increased productiveness, and that this has been marked by constant withdrawal of a larger proportion of the whole people from agricultural labors, we shall wonder when this invincible and universal law will begin to operate. Construed to mean, as is sometimes the case, that after a particular piece of ground has been cultivated with the most complete intelligence and to the utmost limit, then further labor expended upon it will meet with diminishing returns; it is a stupid truism. Any particular man or animal or machine has a limit of efficiency, and a bit of ground is not an exception to this rule. Possibly there is somewhere an acre of ground, that is cultivated to the limit of its efficiency gauged by the present state of science; but to assume that all the land has been, or ever can be, so cultivated, is comparable with the other assumption that

if the sky should fall larks would be plentiful.

Ricardo's theory of the occupation of the soil, has not a shred of historic basis; nor can it be sustained by an examination of the present state of agricultural industry. The fact is that cultivation does not begin with the richest soils; and there are conclusive reasons why it cannot, as has been fully shown by Mr. Carey, who has been at the pains to make a survey of the earth, from which he shows, not only that the richest soils are not the first to be occupied, but that almost everywhere they are still unsubdued. The earth is merely a machine employed by man. In all other industries man begins with the poorest tools and proceeds to the better ones; and it would be anomalous if in agriculture he should begin his labors with the best tools and proceed to the poorer ones. The investigations of Mr. Carey have been verified in the most painstaking way by E. Pershine Smith, Professor Thompson and others, and we refer to them for evidence too large to quote here, which refutes the doctrine of Ricardo.* It is wholly untenable and it must go; the beautiful mathe-

*See also Rev. Richard Jones.

matical law of the landlords' natural rights must go with it, and, as a consequence, "nearly all the phenomena of the production and distribution of wealth must be other than they are" set forth in English political economy.

It must be said further that the productiveness of the soil is not a question of its natural fertility, but of the state of the art of agriculture, which depends upon the other arts, and upon the sciences for its improvement and efficiency. The new science of chemistry has but recently been drawn to the help of the husbandman, and much may be expected from it. Chemistry is itself in its infancy; it can teach us the constituents of the soil, and of vegetable foods; and we find that the latter are composed of elements which are practically illimitable and inexhaustible—elements drawn in a small degree from the earth, and almost wholly from the air, which is the cradle and the grave of plant life. When analytical chemistry has said its last word we do not know what synthetical chemistry may accomplish; it may imitate or supplement vital force in the organization of food for the human race, or give to it enormously greater efficiency.

The race gets what it needs when it is fitted for it, and our suggestion cannot be dismissed as fanciful or impossible. The scientist too often lacks imagination, he should take the advice of Mephistopheles to Faust, and league himself with a poet. The science of chemistry may end where it began. Alchemy may be really a lost art, and the chemist of the future, may outdo its achievement in making gold, by making a potato.

The theories of Ricardo hold their place in the writings of economists in spite of the lack of historical foundation and the contradiction of current facts easily observed. Mr. Mill examined Mr. Carey's refutation of the English doctrine of the occupation of the soil without being convinced by it. A symmetrical theory may defy forever a world of facts. The argument against the policy of protection in the United States, is sustained by the assumption that has been a thousand times refuted, that "the tariff is a tax upon the consumer," and by representation of facts, which the slightest examination shows to be flagrant mistakes or malicious inventions. Henry George has presented a picture of the miseries of American workingmen, which is purely imaginary,

yet thousands of workingmen have read "Progress and Poverty" with apparent approval. One may despair of teaching any general truth which must be received as a matter of evidence, for every man sees the facts in accordance with his theory of what they should be and not as they really are.

With respect to the relations of population to the means of subsistence, what should be the fact? Is there no intelligible theory of the subject to be drawn from what we know of the character and operation of other natural laws; or is this matter so far outside of the domain of science that it has no word to say in vindication of the scheme of the universe? Is it true, that if the nations should learn war no more, if we should have the morality of the four gospels, and if medical and sanitary science should effectively protect mankind from the ravages of disease, the race would, in a few centuries, so increase that it would not find food to eat, or even standing-room on the globe if the heavens should rain down manna for its support? Did God bless mankind, as the record alleges, when he said unto them, "Be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth," or was it a covert curse?

We have said that, in his survey of the globe, Malthus nowhere found a redundant population, nor can it be found to-day. Statistics do not show that there is a uniform rate of increase of population, and the supposed analogies of the animal and vegetable kingdoms are misleading. It may be true that if the spawn of fishes were not destroyed they would soon fill all the seas. It is true of Nature, as Tennyson says, that

> Of fifty seeds,
> She often brings but one to bear,

and that if all the progeny of a single species should survive, there would be no room for other life. This prodigality in the lower world serves a purpose, for its creatures are destined for the subsistence of one another, and all are food for man.

We do not know what the life principle is—as yet it lies outside of physics. It is different from any known elements of matter; yet it is something, and it would be quite philosophical, and strictly in accordance with the present drift of scientific thought, to assume that vital force is a certain fixed quantity, and that it has definite affinities determining broadly its operation. Let us assume further, that the combinations of

matter and vital force are graduated upon a scale of proportions, beginning, we will say for the purpose of illustration, at a thousand atoms of matter to one of vital force, and ascending by stages through additions of units of vital force until you have a thousand atoms of vital force to a thousand atoms of matter, or an atom of one for an atom of the other, this being the ultimate combination at the ascending end of the scale. Let us place at one extremity of this scale the lowest form of organized life—having a thousand atoms of body to one of spirit—and at the other extreme place man, in whom matter and vital force are equally matched, or, in other words, in whom matter and spirit are in equilibrium.

Upon this assumption the tendency of vital force to organize itself in matter would be greatest along the lines of least resistance; a thousand times greater in the direction of the lowest form than in the direction of the highest, and so on proportionally throughout the scale; and these definite proportional attractions, as they may be called, acting upon a fixed amount of vital force, must preserve within certain well-defined general limits, with occasional aber-

rations, a harmonious balance of variously organized animated nature, which balance will only be disturbed by exceptional and partial calamity, or by the ignorant or criminal actions of mankind. If the law be thus, then, upon any disturbance of the equilibrium there would be a special effort for its restoration, redundancy anywhere could not be maintained, and organizations would become more prolific under circumstances which threatened their extinction.

We do not care at this time to inquire whether vital force, or spirit, is identical with mind, or whether it is merely its partial or complete correspondent and concomitant; and we will not now undertake a survey of animated nature, to show how fully its phenomena may sustain our theory, and how apparent exceptions to it may be explained. It is in harmony with what we know of the nature and operation of other forces; and deserves a place among the working hypotheses of science.

As deductions from it, we should hold that life is prolific inversely in proportion to organization, being greatest in the least organized, and least in the most highly organized creatures.

That life is prolific inversely in proportion to its duration,

> Insects that only may
> Live in a sun-bright ray

are brought forth by millions; the period of gestation of the long-lived elephant is nearly two years.

That life is prolific inversely in proportion to the means of maintaining it—the victims of poverty, famine and distress are most fertile, increase of births follows fast upon the ravages of war and disease to make good their waste and preserve the equilibrium. Luxury is barren — misery has plenty of children.

Physicians and philanthropists may be safely encouraged in their good work of prolonging the life of man upon the earth; there will be food for all and room for all. In this world outside of the British Islands, and the countries cursed by English rule, we shall never have too many men.

IMAGINARY WRONGS — IMPOSSIBLE REMEDIES.

In all progressive communities the things which constantly increase in value are land and labor. There is a theory that increase in the value of land is an injury to labor; that in some way labor might be increased in value by rendering land valueless. Workingmen are told that all the benefits of progress—that the improvements of every sort, and the accumulations of every sort, are absorbed by the owners of land, who are few, and, as a consequence, the working masses are constantly declining to a meaner condition, and are doomed to hopeless lives of vice and misery. They are told that it is useless for them to practice industry and thrift; it will avail nothing to be virtuous: teaching and preaching are a mockery; and private and organized charities are an insult, so long as there is private property in land.

Presented in language that has a sort of philanthropic glow, and heightened in interest by descriptions of the miseries of de-

based and degraded masses in the large cities—with pathetic reference to the tramp, that terror of rural communities,—this gospel of the slums appeals strongly to the common weakness of men to excuse their errors to themselves, and to attribute their failures to some cause beyond their own control. The inventor of this imaginary wrong has devised an impracticable remedy for it; a cure for all these ills, and indeed the only possible cure, is the confiscation of land, which is to be accomplished by taxing it to its full rental value, whether it is leased to others or occupied by the owner. It is argued that under this system the acquisition of land would be rendered easy to all; that it would not be monopolized by any; and that the state, deriving large revenues from this source, would have an enormous surplus of income to distribute in some way back to the community.

Perceiving that there must be some motive to induce expenditure upon the land, as nobody, for instance, would build a house, if the state or somebody else could take it away from him, the author of this scheme proposes to recognize the right of ownership in improvements; and taxation is therefore

to be limited to the value of the land only, as distinguished from the improvements upon it. This theory may be tried more easily than any other form of confiscation, for the taxing power as an attribute of sovereignty, is generally free from limitations; but its author should have devised the machinery for carrying it out, or shown at least, that it is practicable.

In an effort to supply this omission, we will consider separately the possible application of this tax system to lands used in agriculture and lands used for buildings only—country land and city land. As to the former, it is necessary to reiterate the fact, that its entire value consists in its improvements. Clearing, draining, fencing, fertilizing and tilling have made it what it is, irrespective of the buildings upon it. It is impossible to value a farm made by the labors of the pioneer and his family, by severing the land from the improvements. The land is the improvements.

Disregarding the life-long labors of two or three generations of husbandmen, we may endeavor to sever the land from the buildings and other structures upon it, calling these only improvements; and try to tax the

land, which is conceived to be naked, at its full rental value. Put in this way, we can think of A., or any other separate farm, as having a value; but this is fallacious, for we must think of all the farms—twenty-six, or twenty-six thousand—as being deprived of improvements; and, in this case, it would appear that none of them would have a rental value. This proper view also disposes of the theory of an unearned increment of value, inhering and cumulating itself in land, and derived from the progress of society, to which it is assumed the land-owner has contributed nothing, and which may, therefore, be confiscated for the benefit of society. Upon examination it appears that this increment does not belong to the land at all, but solely to improvements, ownership of which is not to be disputed, and which are to be free from taxation.

The land of the first settler, A, who takes up a tract of wilderness, becomes more valuable, in the sense that it will sell or rent for more money, when B makes an improved farm in the neighborhood, and so on as C, D and others follow his example. The additional value is owing to improvements altogether, and it would disappear at once if

they were obliterated. Farm A will sell or rent for more because of the improvements made on farm B, C, etc. Relegate the latter to the wilderness state, and the increment of value in farm A will disappear. To treat this increment of value or price in farm A as unearned, and to confiscate it, would be a mistake, as farm A must have contributed to this common increment as much as it has received from it; or if it has not, there are not scales fine enough in which to weigh the quantities and define the balances of debt and credit.

In most cases there is no way to get at the rental value of agricultural lands including improvements. In this country, farm land is generally tilled by the owner, who is his own landlord, his own farmer, and his own laborer. The census reports show that seventy-four per centum of farms are tilled by the owners; and, of leased land, eighteen per cent. farmed on the shares, and but eight per cent. paying money rental. Excluding the Southern States, and taking the oldest states composing the North Atlantic group, the proportions are eighty-four per cent. tilled by owners, nine per cent. paying produce rental, and seven per cent. paying

money rental; while in the Western group of states the farms paying a money rental drop to five per centum of the whole.

The difficulty which this state of agriculture presents is evaded by the author whose theory we are discussing, by a resort to the economic rent of Ricardo, which would be worked out in this way. Take farm A and find the difference in productiveness between it and the poorest land under cultivation in the country or community, and this difference will be the economic rent or landlord's share; a difference falsely alleged to be owing to inherent difference in the natural fertility of the soil, and therefore, a contribution of nature. If farm A produces thirty bushels of grain to the acre, and farm X produces but ten bushels to the acre, then the difference is the rental of A, or of its grain land, *i.e.*, twenty bushels to the acre. Of course this comparison must be extended to all the farm products of A and X—grain and hay, butter and eggs, calves and colts, etc.—and the whole difference is the economic rental. This, however, is not to be all confiscated by taxation, but an allowance is to be made and left to the farmer for so much of it as is owing to the

improvements which belong to him—a neat little problem to solve, as we have shown. We would like any convert to this theory to work it out if he can; it is too complicated for us. And we wonder who will represent the state in this business; where the assessors can be found who will make practical application of this principle in the levy of taxes.

Rents payable in money, probably bear a certain proportion to rents payable in kind, as the latter system so largely predominates. These produce rents vary somewhat in different localities; but they afford no evidence of the growing power of the landlords, for the customary shares of landlord and tenant are the same now that they were fifty years ago. Improvement in agriculture has increased the product; the landlord has a larger reward in rent, but there is a like proportional increase in the share of the tenant.

Regarded as an investment, the acquisition of farm lands for the purpose of letting them to tenants, is far from being attractive, and in point of fact it is not practical. Except in that transient phase of the industry known as bonanza farming, and possibly and doubtfully in cotton and sugar planting, there is

no profit in the ownership of farm lands to anybody but the man who works with his own hands; and the holding of such lands outside of the Southern States of the Union, by anybody but practical farmers, is left to the very wealthy, who can afford an expensive amusement. To be a land owner in this country is not a distinction; there is no social consideration going along with it; and the power of the land owner is much less than that of the money lender; the former gets at best about three per centum upon his investment in farm lands, and it is very difficult to make him out to be a public robber.

Passing from the consideration of farm lands let us take a case which is simpler, in a vacant lot in a city, and try the confiscation theory upon it. We will regard it as vacant land, though it has paid for paving, and water, and police, and courts—improvements which belong to it, but are not actually on it. We will see if the system of taxing land to its full rental value will render it any easier for poor men to acquire this piece of property.

The lot we will say is worth twenty thousand dollars, and the existing tax rate is say ten mills upon a full valuation, making the

annual tax two hundred dollars. If naked ground in the vicinity rents at six per centum of its value, the confiscation tax rate upon this property would be twelve hundred dollars. The imposition of this tax it is said will oblige the owner to build, or if he does not, and in case of non-payment, there will be a sale for taxes, and the land will go to some one who will improve it.

We will suppose that the owner builds, that he erects houses worth twenty thousand dollars. The usual income from such property is about six per centum upon the investment, and the rental under the present system would be, say twenty-four hundred dollars. The rental under the confiscation system would not be less than twenty-four hundred dollars, for there is no reason why it should be reduced. The tenant would pay as much as ever, though the landlord would keep but half of the rent, the other half being paid away by him in taxes. Thus far it would appear that there is no cheapening of rents or benefit to tenants. But as a return of three per centum upon investments in houses will not induce such investments, they will not be made unless the usual rewards of capital can be gained from them; and it is

not at all clear that the rent demanded for the improvements alone would not be equal to that formerly paid for the improvements and the land. The owner, whether prior or subsequent to confiscation by sale, cannot get the ordinary interest upon his capital invested in improvements, unless he can make his tenant pay the government tax on the land. Either this will be the result, or there will be a positive check to improvements—the houses will be meaner or the rents will be higher, or both results will follow; there will be a check to progress and no diminution of poverty.

From any point of view the ground rent to the state is the equivalent of a full purchase price for the land, and an enormous injury is done to present owners without any benefit to tenants or to future owners. Under this system it would not be a bit easier for a poor man to acquire land than it is now, for the tax is simply equivalent to a ground rent or purchase money mortgage; and the poor man who has borrowed money on mortgage is never happy until he has discharged the debt. In this case he could never discharge the debt, and there would be always present to him the danger of

having his home sold by summary process upon a failure to pay the large annual dues to the state. The most useful charity in which the state could expend its confiscatory taxes, would be in paying everybody's taxes, which would make the system quite complete.

We will suppose that the owner of the lot of ground subject to taxes of twelve hundred dollars a year, is unable to improve it by building upon it, and is unable to pay the taxes. All that the state can do then, will be to sell it, and it must be sold promptly, for arrears can never be collected. The land has no value as the confiscation tax covers its entire rental value. The state must buy it and hold it until somebody will take it at any price, or at no price, subject to the ground-rent taxes. This is precisely what the owner would have been willing to do with it, and the land is not any cheaper under the confiscation system than it was before. The owner has been ruined and the poor man who wants land has not been benefited; there are two poor men where there was but one before.

There is nothing in the scheme except a robbery of present owners of land, and the insecurity and calamities attending universal

and perpetual ground-rent taxes on the one side, and hypothetical benefits to be derived from state charities on the other side.

This system, which puts every home in annual peril, is to be administered by public officials, who, according to its author, are hopelessly corrupt and unfit to be trusted with the limited powers they now exercise. They, and a vastly increased number of like officers, will be intrusted with the duty of assessing and collecting and then distributing the entire rental value of all the lands; the most difficult calculations, the most delicate adjustments, not in one case but in every case, will be committed to them, and enormous sums of money will be perpetually flowing through their hands. Under these circumstances we are told it will be easy to guard the public service and keep it pure, and that only good men will be elected to office!

Public and individual interest in agriculture is the same; it is that the sciences and arts shall make such progress that food shall constantly be more plentiful, and more easily obtained by all the people. Would not instability of land tenure result in scarcity? Would not enormously burdensome taxes

upon land reappear in the prices of food, and if not, why not? The system under which the Indian ryot cultivates the soil is not an improvement upon the land system of the United States. We insist that the title to land is no more sacred than the title to other things, and that with respect to it the public good is the supreme law; but who has demonstrated that all private property in land in this country, is detrimental to the public good?

We may be pardoned for this somewhat too extended discussion of a theory which might be properly dismissed with brief condemnation. It is put forth in a cheap book that has probably been more widely read than any similar publication; and its author having secured his audience among workingmen, by awakening in them a sense of wrong, and offering them a malevolent and impossible remedy, will use his prestige as "the friend of labor," greatly to their disadvantage, in the service of the free trade league.

CONCLUSION.

An essay upon man and labor may be regarded as incomplete, lacking a catalogue of grievances, and of measures for their immediate redress. This is the popular side of the subject, and current literature is full of it. It is found in the magazines, cheap literary publications, and the daily newspapers. It is the favorite topic of politicians, and it occupies the attention of state legislatures and the national congress. The most extravagant statements in regard to the condition and wrongs of workingmen readily pass current; and Doctors of Labor with infallible cures for all its ills, enjoy such reputation as the professional rain-maker has among his tribe of western Indians.

This is not a popular work. We have no recipe for making everybody rich; indeed, we think it is not necessarily a crime or a felicity to be rich, nor is it necessarily a wrong or an infelicity to be poor. All the virtues do not belong to riches, and all the vices do not belong to poverty. From our

observation of different conditions of life, we doubt if Henry George has a charter to reverse the bearing of the text in regard to the camel and the needle's eye.

The tendencies of civilization are toward improvement in the real rewards of labor; and progress in the past is a promise of what may be expected in the future. Students of history know that the past century has been most fruitful in this respect; it is not necessary to resort to statistics to prove it, as there are such large facts as the emancipation from serfdom and slavery of whole populations of workingmen. The consequences are, perhaps, not what were expected, as neither freedom nor prosperity brings contentment; and the great material progress of recent years is perhaps the prime cause of the prevalent discontent. We do not care to fan its flames, nor do we regard it as useless; and at any rate we agree with the poet in preferring "a hundred years of Europe to a cycle of Cathay."

Without entering into painful particulars, we are willing to have social and industrial aberrations gauged by means of the natural laws which we have endeavored to establish.

If labor in general is joyless, then this is contrary to natural laws; it is both criminal and unprofitable, and somebody should begin somewhere to set it right. Some one will attempt it when it is discovered that there is certainly money in it.

If the real wages of the workingman are not constantly and steadily increasing with progress in the arts and sciences and improvement in the community, this is a violation of natural laws, which cannot be maintained as the laborer's misfortune if it is not also his fault.

Remedies for the real evils which afflict labor may not be far to seek. In the physical sciences the most important and beneficial discoveries of recent years were always just at hand, and the wonder is that they were not found out sooner. They were not thought of, or if thought of they were deemed absurd or impossible. Could anything be more simple and easy than the Bessemer process and the telephone, the moment we know all about them? Social science gives us no such grateful surprises, and why should it? It ignores moral forces altogether, it has not given them a trial, and it is possible that there are beneficent powers in man which

are waiting for the opportunity to manifest themselves. The one thing lacking is "faith as a grain of mustard seed," which this skeptical and materialistic age cannot supply.

In so far as reference has been made in the course of these studies to the theories of evolution, there is no purpose of either assenting to, or denying them. As far as our knowledge of the subject extends, attempts to trace and establish the evolution of intellect, morals, and religion have proceeded upon the lines of introspection and consciousness—a method which has perpetually confused philosophy—or have used such data of facts, as are furnished by guesses at the ideas of ancient races, and so much of the mental life of savages as can be gleaned from the tales of travelers. The teacher to whom his own mental operations and the ideas of his neighbor are a mystery, has no difficulty in establishing deductively, the origin and development of that which superstition still regards as the spiritual entity in man, as an incident of the physical organism and its material surroundings. We have merely suggested by a hint here and there, that the scientists have not yet

exhausted their side of the subject; and that their observations in comparative anatomy and physiology should be supplemented and corrected by studies in comparative psychology, which may possibly give us an ant-man instead of an ape-man as the progenitor of the human race. Assumption of a few thousands or millions of missing links might be necessary, and would be but a trivial matter.

The effort to define principles concisely can never be entirely successful: and a large margin is left on which the student may note the necessary qualifications and limitations. The usefulness of generalizations may consist in their approximate accuracy; if they possess this they have the office of opening up a new path in the world of thought, which although an uncertain track at first, may become at last a wide and easy way.

Ignorance of human nature is the reproach of science and philosophy. Medicine and jurisprudence are as badly off in this respect, and as much at a loss as political economy; and something is gained in this unknown field, if we have suggested to future explorers a way to enter it. It may be too much to claim that we have defined even a few of the

principles of human nature, and indicated their right to be regarded as a part of the science of political economy.

We may not safely deny to any mental trait, however difficult it may be to trace it, an influence in the direction of society. A group of ideas, dominant in village life, may continue in control and give almost a distinctive personality to the great city, which the village becomes through a century of change and growth. Social movements are not to be certainly judged by surface waves, which winds may drive in one direction while the sea is being carried by its tides in the opposite way. To know something of the nature and laws of the social tides which govern the movement of the seas has been the object of our studies.

There are current tendencies of popular thought which endanger the productiveness of labor and the order of society, and it is a question if we shall have in this country a manifestation of their destructiveness. They do not originate here, but to follow our simile, neither do its high tides originate in the Bay of Fundy. We can make the danger imminent by abandoning our protective policy, and imposing European con-

ditions of labor and life upon American workingmen.

It would be easy to point out the influences, literary, political, and legislative, which tend to a culmination in violence, but it may be best to think of a few of the defenses of society. The farming population of the United States lies outside of the region of social disturbance, and it is a great conservative force. Race, and religion or the lack of it, will have much to do with the attitude of the workingman, and here popular prejudice is at fault. The race which has been the favorite subject of caricature has made within recent years the greatest progress in ways which tend to the improvement of the community, and may be relied upon in a social emergency for all the uses of good citizenship. The church which bigotry has libeled with ignorant alliteration, has the most wholesome influence within a sphere which belongs to it exclusively, and it will use its great powers effectively for the maintenance of order and law.

We shall see before the close of this century whether the apprehensions of social disturbances are well founded or otherwise. The rapidity with which such movements progress

with constant increment of violence, is happily described by Nathaniel Hawthorne in his story of "Earth's Holocaust," and the theory which the author puts in the closing speech of "a dark complexioned personage" who has ample knowledge of human nature, may be accepted as a correct estimate of the effect of material progress without moral reform.

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